

*22.8.9.26.*

THE  
Bishop of *Salisbury's*,  
AND THE *K. Burnet*  
Bishop of *OXFORD's*

# SPEECHES

IN THE  
HOUSE OF LORDS,

On the First Article of the Impeachment  
of Dr. *Henry Sacheverell*;

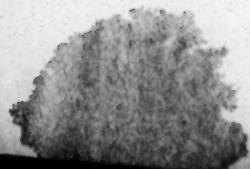
ALSO THE  
Bishop of *Lincoln's* and Bishop of *Norwich's*

# SPEECHES

At the Opening of the Second Article of  
the said IMPEACHMENT.

---

LONDON:  
Printed, and Sold by *John Morphew* near  
Stationers-Hall, MDCCX.



## *The Bishop of Salisbury's Speech in the House of LORDS, &c.*

THE Council for the Prisoner did so plainly and fully yield all that any Loyal Subject has ever pretended to, that in Cases of extrem Necessity, Self-defence and Resistance were Lawful, and that this was the Case at the Revolution; that it may not be necessary to say any thing further on this Head, if it had not been that the Evidence they brought seemed to carry this Matter much further, and that the Prisoner himself allow'd of no Exception, in Cases of Necessity. And since it is grown to be a vulgar Opinion, That by the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, all Resistance in any Case whatsoever, without Exception, is Condemn'd; I think it is incumbent on me, who have Examin'd this Matter long and carefully, to give you such a clear Account of this Point, as may as fully satisfie you as it did myself.

I served in the Revolution, and promoted it all I could. I served as Chaplain to the Late King: I had no Command, and carried no Arms, but I was so far engag'd in it, that if I could see that I had gone out of the Way in that (and the many Up and Downs we have gone thro' since, has given much Occasion to reflect on that Transaction) I should hold my self unworthy to appear longer, either in this Habit, or in this Great Assembly: But should think my self bound to pass away the rest of my Life in Retirement or Sorrow. There is nothing more certain in Religion, than that we ought to repent of every Sin we have committed; and that we cannot truly repent, unless we repair and restore, as far as it is in our Power.

I go now to give you the Account of the Doctrine of our Church in this Particular. In the Times of Popery it was a Tenet, built upon Bishops setting the Crown on the Heads of Princes, and Anointing them, that they held their Crowns of the Church, and at the Pope's Mercy; who had for about 500 Years got into the Claim of deposing them, and giving their Dominions to others, in case they were Hereticks, or the Favourers of them. But the Reformation being in its first beginning protected by the Princes of *Germany*, by the Kings of the *North*, and then by the Kings of *England*; they came every where in Opposition to the Papal Notions, to say that Kings had their Power from God: Not that they meant, that they had any Distinct Authority besides the Law of the Land derived to them from God; but that by the Laws of God, the Au-

thority of the Law of the Land, was secured to them. For when a different Authority from that of the Law came to be pretended to, and to be grounded on these general Expressions, that received here a Parliamentary Censure, and it was then declared that the Laws of Religion in the Scripture did only establish the several Constitutions and Governments that were in the different Parts of the World.

The Occasion that the Apostles had to write what we find in their Epistles, with relation to Government, was this; The Jews had a Notion among them from a Passage in *Deuteronomy*, that they were only to set a King over them, *One from among their Brethren, and not a Stranger*. From whence it is, That to this Day they do not think they are bound in Conscience to Obey any Magistrate, who is not one of their Nation. Now the first Converts to Christianity being Jews, the Apostles took care that they should not bring this dangerous Notion with them into the Christian Religion: But they did not meddle to determine where this Authority was lodg'd, that was to be gather'd out of the several Constitutions: They did not determine how much was due to the Emperor, and how much to the Senate: And tho' not long after those Epistles were writ, the Senate condemned *Nero* to dye *More Majorum*, to be whipt to Death; none of the Christians interposed in that Matter. He prevented that infamous Death by his own Hands: And the Primitive Christians reckon'd it one of the Articles of the Glory of their Religion, that their first Persecutor came to such an End

Not long after that *Trajan* was fam'd for that memorable Expression, when he deliver'd the Sword to the Governours of the Provinces, as the Emblem of their Authority, he us'd these Words, *Pro me, si merear in me*; For me, but if I deserve it, against me. That did not weaken his Authority: His good Government with that of his Successors for above 80 Years, being the greatest and happiest time the *Romans* had, under their Emperors. This Word was put on King *James* the First's Coin in *Scotland*: It is true, that was during his Minority; but when he afterwards changed his Motto, the Coin was not call'd in, but continu'd Current till the Union.

The Primitive Christians had no Laws in their Favour, but many against them: So their patient suffering so many Persecutions according to the Laws of the Empire, under which they liv'd, was conform to the Doctrine laid down by the Apostles. When they came afterwards to have the Protection of Laws, they claim'd the Benefit of them, not without great Violence, when they thought an Infraction was made on those Laws: Which broke out into great Tumults, in many of the chief Cities of the Empire, not excepting the Imperial City it self.

But

But to proceed with the History of our Church: When the Articles of Religion were settled, the Books of the *Apocrypha* were indeed declar'd not to be a part of the Canon of the Scripture, but yet to be useful for the *Example of Life*, and the *Instruction of Manners*. A great Part of these are the Books of the *Maccabees*, which contain the History of the Jews shaking off the Yoke of the Kings of *Syria*, when they were broke in upon by a total Overthrow of their whole Law, and an unrelenting Persecution. *Mattathias* a private Priest began the Resistance, which was carried on by his Children, till they shook off the *Syrian* Yoke, and formed themselves into a free Government, under the Family of the *Maccabees*. It were easie to shew that the Jews had been for above 400 Years subject, first to the *Babylonian*, then to the *Persian*, and at last to the *Grecian* Empire: So that by a long Prescription they were Subjects to the Kings of *Syria*. It were easie also to shew that this Resistance was foretold by *Daniel*, in Terms of high Commendation, and is also mention'd in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, as the Work and Effect of their *Faith*. If then all Resistance to illegal and barbarous Persecution, is unlawful; these Books contain nothing but a History of a Rebellion, and all the Devotion that runs through them, is but a Cant, and instead of reading them as *Example of Life*, and *Instruction of Manners*, we ought to tear them out of our Bibles with Detestation. I shall afterwards shew what use was made of these Books, not only by private Writers of our Church, but by what the whole Body in Convocation was about to determine.

The next Step to be made, is, to consider the Homilies: The Second Book of Homilies, which has the Homilies in it against *Wilful Rebellion*, is generally believed to have been compos'd by Bishop *Jewell*, who was by much the best Writer in that time. It is certain, he understood the meaning of them well: Now I will read you two Passages out of his Defence of his Apology for the Church of *England*; from whence we may clearly gather what his Notion of Rebellion was, and that he thought a Defence against unjust and illegal Violence was not Rebellion. In one place he has these Words;

*The Nobles of Scotland neither drew the Sword, nor attempted War against the Prince: They sought only the Continuance of God's undoubted Truths, and the Defence of their own Lives against your barbarous and cruel Invasions: They remember'd, besides all other Warnings, your late Dealings at Vassy, where great Numbers of their Brethren were murder'd, being together at their Prayers in the Church, holding up their Innocent Hands to Heaven, and calling upon God.* In another place he writes, *Neither do any of all these (Luther, Melanchthon) teach the People to rebel against their Prince: But only to defend themselves by all lawful Means against Oppressions, as did David against Saul, so do the Nobles*

*in France at this Day, they seek not to kill, but to save their own Lives.*

These Passages shew that he looked on Rebellion to be a violent Rising against a Prince executing the Laws, which was the Case of the Three Rebellions in *England* that they had in view : That in K. *Henry* the VIIIth's, in K. *Edward*'s, and in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Time, where the Papists took Arms against their Prince, who was executing Laws made in Matters of Religion, and that with a great Gentleness. Of the Eleven Passages quoted by the Prisoner out of the Homilies, Five plainly relate only to the Coercing the Person of the Prince, in which *David* is set in Opposition to those Rebels, now though he indeed defended himself, yet he had a just and sacred Tenderness to the Person of *Saul*, when he had him in his Power, which is certainly Sacred by our Constitution. Five of them relate to Wicked Princes. It was never pretended by any who pleaded for Necessary Defence, that the bad Life of a Prince can be a just Cause of Resistance : Yet that was then pretended ; for K. *Henry* VIII. had given too much occasion to reckon him a Wicked Prince. So there is only one of all the Passages quoted from those Homilies, that relates simply to Rebellion in general : And it has appear'd what Bishop *Jewell*'s Sense of the Matter was. There is also a Prayer at the end of every Division of the Homily against *Wilful Rebellion*, (and by the by *Wilful* was not put in the Title for nothing) for those oppressed by Tyranny in other Parts, that they might be relieved, and that those who were in fear of their Cruelty might be comforted.

Let us next look through Q. *Elizabeth*'s Long and Glorious Reign, and see what was the constant Maxim of that time.

The Year after the Queen came to the Crown, the War in *Scotland* broke out between the Queen Regent that Govern'd by Commission, from her Daughter then Queen of *France*, and the Lords in *Scotland*. She, to obtain the Matrimonial Crown to be sent to *Frances* the II<sup>d</sup>. gave Assurances for the Exercise of the Reformed Religion ; but that Point being gain'd, she broke all her Promises, and resolved to force them to return to the Exercises of the Popish Religion. Upon which the Lords of *Scotland* formed themselves into a Body, and were called the Lords of the Congregation. Forces were sent from *France* to assist the Queen Regent ; upon that Q. *Elizabeth* entered into an Agreement with the *Scottish* Lords, and sent an Army to their Assistance, which continued in *Scotland* till all Matters were settled by the Pacification of *Leith*: And in a *Manifesto*, that I have in my Hands, set forth 25 Years after that, I find Her reflecting on that Interposition in the Affairs of that Nation, with great Satisfaction.

The Year after this War was ended, upon *Frances* the II<sup>d</sup>'s Death, *Charles* the IX<sup>th</sup>, who was a Child, succeeded in *France*.

France. Edicts were granted in favour of the Protestants; These were soon after broken by the Triumvirat, and upon that follow'd a Series of Wars often pacified, but always breaking out again, by reason of the Violence and Cruelty of the Government. All these Wars, till Henry the IVth was settled on the Throne, were in a Course of 28 Years, that which some would call *Rebellion*, being carried on against two succeeding Kings. Yet the Queen was in all that time still assisting them with Men and Money.

In the Year 1568. the Provinces in the *Netherlands* threw off the *Spanish* Yoke, that was become intollerably severe and cruel. The Queen for some Years assisted them more covertly, but when the Prince of *Orange* was kill'd, and they were in danger to be over-run, she took them more openly into her Protection; and by the *Manifesto* which I have in my Hands, She published the Grounds upon which She proceeded. She laid down this for a Foundation, That there had been an Ancient League not only between the Crown of *England*, and the Princes of the *Netherlands*, but between the Subjects of both Countries, under their Seals interchangeably, for all Friendly Offices. If this was a good Reason for the Queen's giving Aid to the Oppressed People of the *Netherlands*, then if the Case had been reversed, that the People of *England* had been illegally and cruelly oppressed, it furnished the Princes of those Provinces with as good a Reason for assisting them. In this Assistance given the States, the Queen persisted till the End of Her Reign; nor was this only done by the Court, but both Parliaments and Convocations granted Her several Aids to maintain these Wars: And in the Preambles of those Subsidy Acts, the Queen's Proceedings in those Particulars were highly approv'd and magnify'd. *Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, and several other Writers in that time, justified what she did; and not one that I ever heard of, censured or condemned it.

Upon King *James*'s coming to the Crown, the first great Negotiation was for a Peace between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*; which lasted several Years. The States insisted on a Preliminary, That they should be Acknowledged Free, Sovereign, and Independent States; the *Spaniards* would not yield to this, nor would the States recede from it. Some here in *England* began to say, They were Form'd in Rebellion, and ought not to carry their Pretensions too far: Upon that, King *James* suffer'd a Convocation to meet; and a Book of Canons, with relation to the Supream Authority, was prepar'd; in which, tho' the Authority of the Prince, even when he becomes a Tyrant, is carried very far; yet the Case of the *Maccabees* is Stated; and, it was determined, That when a new Government, tho' begun in a Revolt, is come to a thorow Settlement, it may be owned as Lawful. King *James*,

who was jealous enough of the Regal Authority, yet did not like their carrying these Matters so far: He order'd the whole Matter to be let fall so entirely, that there is not a Word of it in the Books of Convocation: But Archbishop *Sancroft* found this Collection of Canons at *Durham*, under Dr. *Overall's* Hand, which he Copied out, and Licensed the Book a few Days before he fell under his Suspension. I soon saw that it had a Relation to the Affairs in *Holland*: For the *Dutch* delighted to compare their first Beginnings to that of the *Jews* in *Antiochus's* time: They compared King *Philip* to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the Prince of *Orange* to *Judas Maccabæus*. But I saw much clearer into the Matter by an Original Letter of King *James*, which a worthy Gentleman sent me. I knew his Hand well, the Letter is in Print; but I will read some particulars out of it. It is directed to Dr. *Abbot*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. It begun with Censuring some Positions concerning a King in Possession, the same with our Modern Term of a King *de facto*: He goes on in these Words, *My Reason of calling you together, was to give your Judgments, how far a Christian and a Protestant King, may concur to Assist his Neighbours to shake off their Obedience to their own Sovereign, upon the Account of Oppression, Tyranny, or what else you like to name it.* In the late Queen's Time, this Kingdom was very free in Assisting the *Hollanders* both with Arms and Advice; and none of your Coat ever told me, that any scrupled about it in her Reign. Upon my coming to England, you may know it came from some of your selves to raise scruples about this Matter; yet I never took any notice of these scruples, till the Affairs of Spain and Holland forced me to it. I call'd my Clergy together, to satisfie not so much me, as the World about us, of the Justness of my owning the *Hollanders* at this time. This I needed not to have done, and you have forced me to say, I wish I had not. He reflects on those who had a great Aversion to the Notion of God's being the Author of Sin, which plainly Points at Dr. *Overall*, who was the first Man of Note among us, that Opposed the *Calvinists* Doctrine of Predestination; yet he says, *They had gone to the Threshold of it, by saying, That even Tyranny was God's Authority, and should be Reverenced as such.* He concludes, *These were edg'd Tools, and that therefore they were to let them rest.* Here is a full Account of King *James's* Thoughts of this Matter, which was then the chief Subject of Discourse all Europe over. He had Twelve Years before this, shewed on an Eminent Occasion, that he owned the States, when he Invited them in the Year 1593. to Christen his Eldest Son, Prince *Henry*. They were sensible of the great Honour done them by it; and tho' they were then but Low, they sent an Embassy, with a noble Present of Gold Plate, to Assist on that Occasion. This Negotiation stuck for several Years, the *Spaniards* refusing to own

own them in express Words : The Temper found was, they were treated with (*tamquam*) as with Free States ; and the Matter went no further at that time, than a Truce for some Years, which was Concluded in the Year 1609. This lets us see, That the Words in King James's Speech that Year to his Parliament, were not chance Words that fell carelessly from him, *A King leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to Govern by Law : In which case the King's Conscience may speak to him, as the poor Woman to Philip of Macedon, Either Govern by Law, or cease to be a King.*

There is another eminent Instance towards the End of that Reign, that shews what the Sense of our best Divines was in this Matter : When the Archbishop of York's Son and Mr. Wadsworth had changed their Religion in Spain, Wadsworth writ over a bold Defence of that ; and among other Things, Charged the Reformation with Rebellion. This was Answer'd by one of the best Books of that Time, writ by Dr. Bedell, Dedicated to the Prince of Wales, who afterwards Promoted him to a Bishoprick. His Words on this Head are full : I will read some of them. *Do you think Subjects are bound to give their Throats to be cut by their Fellow-subjects, or to their Prince, at their mere Wills, against their own Laws and Edicts ? You would know quo jure the Protestants Wars in France and Holland, are justified. First, The Law of Nature, which not only alloweth, but inclineth and inforceth every living Thing to defend it self from Violence. Secondly, That of Nations, which permitteth those who are in the Protection of others, to whom they owe no more than an honourable Acknowledgment, in case they go about to make themselves absolute Sovereigns, and to usurp their Liberty, to Resist and Stand for the same. And if a Lawful Prince, who is not yet Lord of his Subjects Lives and Goods, shall attempt to despoil them of the same, under colour of reducing them to his own Religion, after all humble Remonstrances, they may stand upon their own guard, and being assailed, resist Force with Force, as did the Maccabees under Antiochus. In which case notwithstanding, the Person of the Prince himself ought always to be Sacred and Inviolable, as was Saul to David.* No Commentary is wanted here.

*My Lords,* You see how this Matter stood during King James's Reign. In the first Year of King Charles's Reign, Grotius's Book *de Jure Belli & Pacis*, was Published at Paris, Dedicated to the King of France, while France was under the Administration of the wisest and most jealous Minister of the last Age, Cardinal Richlieu. In that Book, in which he asserts the Rights of Princes with great Zeal, yet he enumerates many Cases, in which it is Lawful to Resist, particularly that of a total Subversion : And that Book is now all Europe over in the highest Reputation of any Book that the Modern Ages have

have produced. In the beginning of King *Charles's* Reign, a War broke out in *France*, against the Protestants; upon which he sent over Ambassadors, by whose Mediation a Peace was Concluded; but that being ill kept, the War broke out again; and the King thought himself Bound by his Mediation to Protect the Protestants. So in the Second Session of the Parliament, 1628. in the Demand of a Supply that the Lord Keeper *Coventry* made in the King's Name, these Words are to be found, *France is sway'd by the Popish Faction; and though by his Majesty's Mediation, there were Articles of Agreement between that King and his Subjects, that Treaty hath been broke, and those of the Reformed Religion will be ruined without present Help.* Upon this the Commons petitioned the King for a Fast, and desired the Concurrence of the Lords, who join'd with them in it. The King granted it, and an Office was compos'd suitable to the Occasion; in which, among other Devotions, the Nation was directed to pray for all those, *who here or elsewhere were fighting God's Battels and Defending his Altars.* Thus the whole Body of the Legislature did concur for a Fast for that, which if this Doctrine is true, was no better than Rebellion; and yet the whole Nation, Clergy and Laity, were requir'd to Pray for Success in it.

But to compleat this View of the Doctrine of our Church, it is to be consider'd, That when a Year before this, while the Loan or Benevolence were carried on, some officious Divines made use of those Expressions of Kings having their Power from God, as importing an Authority of a Nature Superior to the Laws of the Land. One of these, Dr. *Manwaring*, was Impeached, and had a severe Sentence passed on him for it. So I have now made it out, beyond I hope the possibility of Contradiction, that for Seventy Years together, from 1558, to 1628, the Lawfulness of Self-defence in the Case of Illegal and Violent Cruelty, was the Publick and Constant Doctrine of this Church.

These were the best and happiest Times of our Church, as is often repeated by the Earl of *Clarendon*: From these we ought to take the Standard of our Doctrine.

I go next to shew what was the common Doctrine for the next Sixty Years, from 1628, to 1688. I must yield up the first twelve Years: For upon the unhappy Misunderstanding between the King and that Parliament, there was a long Discontinuance of Parliaments, then the lately Condemned Doctrine was again in Vogue; and nothing was so much heard of, as the Law of Government that was from God, Antecedent to all Human Laws: Out of this sprung Illegal Imprisonments, illegal Monopolies, severe Proceedings in the Star-Chamber, but above all, the Ship-Money. These things put the Nation in an Universal Dis-jointing and Feebleness. And when an

unavoidable Necessity forced that King to call a Parliament, the fatal Effects of those Councils broke out terribly. I know many fancy, that the War is to be charged on the Principles of Self-defence: They are much mistaken. I had occasion to see a great way into the Secret of that time, when I examin'd the Papers relating to the two Dukes of *Hamilton*. I knew a great deal more since from two Persons of unquestionable Integrity, who knew the Secrets of that time, the Lord *Hollis*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*; but all receiv'd a full Confirmation, when I found it agreed perfectly with the noble Account given by the Earl of *Clarendon*.

No Body dreamt of a War, nor had they any Principles leading to it. But there was an unhappy Train of Accidents that hindred Matters from being brought to a Settlement, even while the King was granting all they could desire. Stories were carried by Persons about both the King and Queen, of words let fall, that made them conclude, there were still ill Designs on foot, against the Laws that were then passed. But that which brought all to a Crisis, was the Discovery of a Negotiation, to engage the Army to declare against the Parliament. Whosoever compares the Depositions in *Rushworth*, with the Account given of that Matter by the Earl of *Clarendon*, will see there is a great deal more in the one, than the other is willing to believe; though he acknowledges they had both *Goring's* Evidence, and *Piercy's* Letter with them. I will not take it upon me to determine, whether they believ'd too much, or the Earl of *Clarendon* too little. It is certain, they believed all that was in the Depositions, and a great deal more: For *Goring* being continued in the Government of *Portsmouth*, and his Father being advanced from being a Baron to be an Earl, and *Piercy's* being made a Lord, and Master of the Horse to the P. of *Wales*, made them conclude they had suppressed a great deal, instead of saying more than was true. This stuck deep in their Hearts, and at last fatally broke out in the Demand of the Militia, that brought on the War, which I do own was plainly a *Rebellion*, because a Force was offer'd to the King, not to defend themselves from an unjust Invasion, or illegal Grievances, but to extort a new Law from him.

Thus the true Occasion of the War, was a Jealousie, that a Conduct of 15 Years had given too much ground for; and that was still unhappily kept up, by a fatal Train of Errors in every step that was made. The great Concussion that the War gave the Nation, and the barbarous Effusion of so much Blood, especially of the Royal Blood of that Blessed KING, had at last a happy, though a late Conclusion in the *Restoration*: And it's no wonder, if such a Series of Tragical Events, begot a general Horror at the Occasion of them. But then it was, that had it  
not

not been for the Firmness of the Earl of *Clarendon* to his *English* Principles, the Liberties of the Nation had been deliver'd up.

It is to his Memory, that we owe our being a free People; for he with his two great Friends, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, check'd the forwardness of some who were desirous to load the Crown with Prerogative and Revenue. He stopt all this, which being afterwards odiously represented, brought on him that great and lasting, but honourable Disgrace. The Earl of *Southampton*, whose Death went a little before his Fall, and perhaps hasten'd it the sooner, said to many about him, that he was a true Protestant, and an honest *Englishman*; and that the Nation would feel the Effects of his being removed, whensoever it might happen.

That Lord, in the great Settlement after the Restoration, would carry things no farther, than to repeal what had been extorted by the Tumults; and in the matter of the Militia-Act, and the Oaths relating to it, all was more cautiously worded, than is commonly understood. To the Word *Commission'd by the King*, some indeed moved, that the Word *Lawfully* might be added, to make all plain. This was press'd in the House of Commons by *Vaughan*, afterward Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas. The Attorney General, afterwards Lord Chancellor *Nottingham*, answer'd, That was not necessary; for the word *Commission* import'd it; since, if it was not Lawfully issued out, to Lawful Persons, and for a Lawful Reason, it was no *Commission*; and the whole House assented to this; yet in the House of Lords, the same word *Lawfully* was press'd to be added by the Earl of *Southampton*, who was answer'd by the Earl of *Anglesey* to the same purpose, with what had been said in the House of Commons. He indeed insisted to have the word added, because it would clear all Difficulties with many, who not having heard of the Sense given in both Houses, might fancy, that any sort of *Commission* being granted, it would not be Lawful to resist it. He did not prevail; for it was said, That this Explanation being the Sense of both Houses, it would be soon spread and known over the Nation. In this Sense, it is certain, that it is not Lawful to take Arms against any so *Commission'd* by the King; for that were to take Arms against the King's Commission in the Execution of the Law, which is certainly a Resisting the Ordinance of God, *which whosoever do, they shall receive to themselves damnation.*

It was no wonder, if after such a War, the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* was preach'd and press'd with more than ordinary Warmth, and without any Exceptions; yet some still kept these in view; so did both Dr. *Falkner* and my self; and I know many others had them always in their Thoughts, tho' they did not think it necessary to mention them.

I found

I found the ill effects, that the carrying this Matter so far, had on the Mind of that Unfortunate Prince, King *James*; for in the Year 1673, when he was pleas'd to admit me to much free Conversation with him, among many other things, I told him, it was impossible for him to Reign in quiet in this Nation, being of that Religion; he answer'd me quick, Does not the Church of *England* maintain the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance* and *Passive Obedience*? I begg'd of him not to depend on that; for there was a distinction in that matter, that would be found out when Men thought they needed it. I now come to tell your Lordships, how right I judged. ——

It is true, they pass'd a very pompous Decree at *Oxford* 1683. but you shall hear how long they stood to it. In Summer, 1686, the Prince of *Orange* was pleas'd to receive me into his Service with a particular Confidence. Soon after the Ecclesiastical Commission was set up, and upon some Proceedings before that Board, he was desir'd from *England* to break with King *James* upon that Head. I opposed this, and said, I was convinced, that Commission was against Law, and would have ill effects, but it did not strike at the whole. This was more warmly press'd upon the Proceedings against *Magdalene College*. I still stood to my ground; and told both Prince and Princess, That if a Breach should follow on these Matters, I could not serve. When indeed the Declaration was publish'd a second time, with a Resolution to have it carried through; and that many Laws were dispensed with at pleasure; and Persons who were under legal Disabilities, were made Judges, Sheriffs and Magistrates; all whose Actings were so many Nullities: Then I thought here was a total Subversion of our Constitution; which from being a Legal one, was made precarious, subject to mere Will and Pleasure. So I was ready to serve in the Revolution.

Some Days after we came to *Exeter*, Sir *Edward Seymour* came thither, and he presently sent for me: When I came to him, he asked me, Why were we a Rope of Sand, and had not an Association? I said, Because we had not yet a Man of his Weight to begin the Motion: He said, If we had not one by to Morrow, he would leave us before Night. I presently saw a Noble Duke now in my Eye, and acquainted him with this; He went to the Prince, who approving of it, an Association was prepar'd, and laid on the Table next Morning; and was after that Signed by all who came to wait on the Prince. Three days after we left *Exeter*, a Head of a College came to the Prince, to invite him to come to *Oxford*, assuring him, that the University would declare for him. He went as near it as *Abingdon*, but then the sudden Turn of Affairs at *London* obliging him to haste up, the Association was sent thither, and was Signed by the Heads of the Colleges, and  
many

many others there; some doing it in a particular Warmth of Expression, and saying, That their Hearts, as well as their Hands went with it. Upon what Disappointments or other Views, I cannot tell, this Contradiction to their famed Decree, five Year after it was made, seem'd to take another Turn back to it again; and the Notion of a King *de facto*, which is but a softer Word for an Usurper, came in Vogue.

The Parliament, to prevent the ill Effects of that, studied to secure the Government, First, by an Association, and then by an Abjuration. I, who was always against every thing that might break in upon Conscience, was for making these only voluntary; but they were Enacted, and they were generally taken. A Noble Lord on the Earls Bench, procur'd me the Sight of a Letter, that went about to persuade the taking the Abjuration, that he had from a place where he believed it had its Effect; where I found this Distinction, That the Abjuring any Right whatsoever that the Pretender might claim, was only meant of a Legal Right, and that it had no Relation to *Birth-Right*, or to *Divine Right*. This agreed, with a Report that went then current, That a Person, in a great Post, sent a Message to an Honourable Gentleman, who would not take the Abjuration, that if he had an half Hours Discourse with him, he doubted not to be able to convince him, that he might take the Abjuration, without departing from any of his Principles. Towards the End of the last Reign, a bold Attempt was made on the King's Supremacy, by an Incendiary, who is supposed to have no small Share in this Matter now before your Lordships: But the Attack on the Supremacy being liable to a *Premunire*, it was turn'd with much Malice, and manag'd with great Prevarication against the Bishops, who adhered firmly to their Duty to the King. How great a Disjointing that has brought on this Church, is too visible all the Nation over, and it tends to carry on the wicked Design of distracting the Church, and undermining the Government.

By the time the Queen was on the Throne, or soon after, the *Rehearsal* began to be spread over the Nation, two of them a Week, which continu'd for several Years together, to be Publish'd without Check or Control; It was all thro' one Argument against the Queen's Right to the Crown; That, tho' it was diversified with Incidents and Digressions, was kept always in View. The Clergy were in many Places drawn into Subscriptions for this Paper. This look'd like a Design long conniv'd at, to have the Queen's Title undermin'd: Besides this, we had a Swarm of Pamphlets every Year to the same Purpose, and, as was believed, writ by the same Hand. One sold at the Door of the House, with the Title of King *William's Exorbitant Grants*, did plainly call him an Usurper; and starting an Objection against the Queen's possessing the Throne, gave

it this Answer, That she did well to keep it till she could deliver it up to the Righteous Heir. At that time there was quick Prosecution of a Paper publish'd, with the Title of *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*; and upon that, I brought that Pamphlet to a great Minister, and offer'd to shew him this Passage in it, to see if there should be a Prosecution of this Order'd. He turned from me; so whether he heard me or not, I cannot tell: I am sure, if he says he did not, I will believe him. No Prosecution follow'd, and the Rehearsal went on. The Clergy in many Places, met at a Coffee-House on Saturdays, to Read the Rehearsals of the Week, which had very ill Effects in most Places. I know it may be said, That the Queen's Learned Council ought to have look'd after these things: But we all know, that they stay till they receive Orders from the Ministry. The Course of that Treasonable Paper has been now for some time stopt, so we see there is some Change in the Ministry. —

But to compleat the Insolence of the Enemies of the Queen and of the Protestant Succession; they had the Impudence to give it out, That the Queen secretly favour'd them: And as this, we all know, has been long whisper'd about among us, so it was more boldly given out in *Scotland*, which oblig'd one of the Queen's Ministers in that Parliament, in a Speech that was Printed, to contradict this treasonable and dishonourable Suggestion, that as some Divines would have it, that there was in God a Secret, as well as a Reveald Will, and that these might be contrary to one another; so they would fasten an Imputation on the Queen, that while she reveal'd her Will one way, she had a secret Will another way; which he solemnly affirmed to be false, and highly Injurious to the Queen.

While the Pamphlets and these Reports were thus set about, Mr. *Hoadly* thought that it became him to assert the Queen's Title, by justifying the Revolution, out of which it rises. But what an Outcry was rais'd on this, that one durst disturb the Progress of a wicked Opinion, that was visibly design'd to overturn the Government: And yet he asserted nothing, but what the Council for the Prisoner did all fully and plainly own, That in the Cases of extream Necessity, an Exception to the Doctrine was to be admitted, and that that was the Case at the Revolution.

But as these Notions have been long let run among us; so they have appeared in a most violent and unguarded Manner, ever since the Attempt of the Pretender, and more of late, since the Preliminaries upon the Overtures for a Peace, seem to extinguish their Hopes. What Sermons on this Head are preach'd in this City, at Assizes, at *Bath*, and at many Cathedrals? Furious Men fit themselves with some hot Sermons, which they carry about from place to place, to poison the Nation. This  
has

has not only the visible Effect designed by it, of shaking many in their Allegiance to the Queen, and in their adhering to the Protestant Succession; but it has a cursed Effect on many others, on whom this their Design does not succeed.

I am very sensible there is a great deal of Impiety and Infidelity now spread thro' the Nation: This gives every good Mind all possible Horror; but I must tell your Lordships, on what a great Part of it is founded; for since my Conversation with *Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, I have had many Occasions to discourse with Persons tainted with those wicked Principles, and I do affirm it, that the greatest Prejudice these Persons have at Religion, at the Clergy, and at the Publick Worship of God, is this, that they say, They see Clergy-men take Oaths, and use all Prayers, both Ordinary and Extraordinary for the Government, and yet in their Actions and Discourses, and of late in their Sermons, they shew visibly that they look another way; from whence they conclude, They are a Mercenary Sort of People without Conscience.

I hope there are not many that are so corrupted and so scandalous: I am sure I know a great many that are far otherwise, who Preach, Speak and Act as they Swear and Pray; but those who act in another way, are Noisie and Impudent, and so bring an Imputation on the whole Body; and unless an effectual Stop is put to this Distemper, it is not possible to foresee all the ill Consequences that may follow upon it.

I have, I am afraid, wearied your Lordships; but I thought it was necessary, once for all, to enlarge copiously on this Argument: And now to come close to the Article, and the Sermon, for I meddle not all with the Person of the Man; Whatever general Expressions might very well have been used, in setting forth *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* before the *Revolution*, because odious Cases ought not to be supposed, and therefore are not to be named; yet since *Resistance* was used in the *Revolution*, and that the late King invited all the Subjects to join with him, which was in them certainly *Resistance*; and since the Lawfulness of the *Revolution* is so much controverted, the condemning all *Resistance* in such crude and general Terms, is certainly a Condemning the *Revolution*: And this is further aggravated from those Limitations on our Obedience, in an Act past soon after the *Revolution*, by which, in Case our Princes turn *Papists*, or marry *Papists*, the Subjects are in express Words, discharg'd from their Allegiance to them. Certainly this puts an End to the Notion of *Non-Resistance* in any Case, or on any Pretence whatsoever: For these Reasons, I think the first Article of this Impeachment, is both well grounded, and fully made out.

F I N I S.

T H E

any  
the  
ers,  
ifi-  
od  
at  
th  
f-  
I  
at  
d,  
e  
n

THE  
Bishop of OXFORD  
HIS  
S P E E C H  
IN THE  
HOUSE of LORDS,  
ON THE  
First Article of the Impeachment  
of Dr. HENRY SACHEVERELL.



---

L O N D O N:  
Printed in the YEAR 1710.



---

## *The Bishop of OXFORD's Speech in the House of Lords, &c.*

*My Lords,*

**S**OME of this Bench are necessarily call'd up, by Words which fell from the Noble Lord who spake third in this Debate, who was pleas'd to mention among other strange Things, *Bishops voting contrary to their Doctrines.* The Opinions of several of the Reverend Prelates have been read before your Lordships in *Westminster-Hall:* They were first quoted by the Counsel for the Defendant, and by their Order read in such a partial and unfair manner, that if I may be allow'd to use any other Author after the same way, to take a naked Proposition out of his Book, and not consider the Coherence or Dependance of the Words how it may be explain'd or limited in other Places, to read just so far as may serve my Purpose, and stop when any thing follows that may set the Matter in a just Light, I dare undertake to make any Author speak on which-ever side of the Question I please.

But the Managers for the Honourable House of Commons did Justice to those Reverend Prelates by obliging the Clerk to read other Passages in their Books, which clearly explain'd their Opinions; and so the only Purpose that was eventually serv'd by producing those Quotations, was that which I fear was not intended, the vindicating those Reverend Prelates from the uncharitable Imputation of having asserted a *Doctrine* in their *Writings* which they had contradicted by their Practices, in relation to the Revolution, and the Government founded upon it.

I hope to be able to reconcile the Vote which I shall give, with the Opinion which I have always been of,

and which having not been produced below, I stand up to give it your Lordships here, being far from censuring, far from entertaining the least disrespectful Thought of any that shall differ in Opinion from me.

I own the Subject now in Debate, is a matter of great Consequence, and of great Nicety and Tenderness; and that he, who should presume to entertain your Lordships upon it, ought to be better qualified, and better prepar'd than I am in other Respects, but I will give place to none in those that follow, *viz.* in delivering my self with that Respect and Deference which is due to this House, that humble Diffidence which becomes a just Consciousness of my own Weakness, and that Plainness and Sincerity which becomes that Character, which however unworthy of it, I have the Honour to bear; and then I am sure I may depend upon your Lordships known Candor, Honour and Justice, that if any thing should fall from me less correct, or less guarded than it ought to be, it shall receive the most favourable Construction that it is capable of.

Before I deliver my Opinion, I beg leave briefly to state the Question, and in order to that to lay down two Premises.

1. That Government in general, was in its original Institution, design'd for the good of the whole Body; Men were not form'd into Societies, only to be the Subjects of the arbitrary Wills, the slavish Instruments in the gratifying the Ambitious or other corrupt Designs, of any one or more Men; but for the Safety and Prosperity of the whole Community.

2. That in the Holy Scriptures (as far as I can find) there is no Specification of any one particular Form of Government to which all Nations and Bodies of Men, in all Times and Places ought to be subject; nor are there such exact Accounts of the Extent of the Power of the Governor, or Obedience and Submission of the Governed, as can reach to all Cases that may possibly happen.

There are many general Precepts requiring the Obedience and Submission of Subjects to their Governors: *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers; You must needs be subject not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience-sake;*

*He*

*He that resists, resists the Ordinance of God ; And submit your selves to every human Constitution for the Lord's sake, &c.*

But yet these Scriptures do not tell us how far we must obey and be subject, nor do they necessarily imply that that there can never be any Cases wherein we may not obey and not be subject, but resist ; because there are other Places in Scripture, where other Duties are requir'd in Terms as large and general as these, nay in universal Terms, which yet must admit of Exceptions.

Some of the most zealous Contenders for the absolute Power of the Prince, and unconditional Submission of the Subject, found themselves very much upon the Fifth Commandment, *Honour Thy Father and Mother*, which they expound as comprehending Political as well as natural Parents, and I do not gainsay it : But then pray, my Lords, let us see in what Terms the Duty of Children to their natural Parents is requir'd in Scripture : *Children, says the Apostle, obey your Parents in all Things* ; This Expression is surely universal enough ; and from hence, according to some Men's Reasoning, it must follow, if Children must obey their Parents in all Things, then they may resist in none.

But will any Body say, that notwithstanding the Universality of this Precept, there may not be some Exceptions and Limitations understood, both as to the *Active* and *Passive* Part of the Child's Obedience ? As to the *Active* no one will deny, but the Command must be restrain'd to *Licita & Honesta* ; they are not to obey in all Things absolutely, but in all things that are Lawful and Honest.

And as to the *Passive* Part of the Child's Obedience, the Submission or Non-resistance requir'd, permit me to put a Case. Suppose a Parent in a *Pbrenzy*, in a Fit of *Drunkenness or Passion*, draws his Sword and attempts to kill his innocent Son, and the Son has no way to escape from him ; is he oblig'd by this Duty of *not Resisting*, to stand still and let his Father sheath his Sword in his *Bowels* ? May he not, tho' he must still have a care of his Father's Life, defend his own ? May he not put by the Pass,

grapple with his Father, and disarm him if he can? My Lords, surely he may; That prime Law of Nature, of *Self-Preservation*, will justifie him in it: And then why may not the same Law of *Self-Preservation* justify the Political Child, the Body of the People, in defending their political Life, i. e. their *Constitution*, against plain and avow'd Attempts of the political Parent utterly to destroy it? And it is upon this Point only that I shall state the Question.

I do allow, that in all *Governments* whatsoever there is an absolute Power lodg'd somewhere. With us, as I humbly conceive, that Power is lodg'd in the Legislature; for which I have the Authority of a great Politician and Statesman, Sir *Thomas Smith*, who was Secretary of State to two Princes, K. Edw. 6. and Q. Eliz. who in his Book, *De Republica Angl.* a Book seen and allow'd as is said in the Title-page, in that Chapter where he treats of our Parliaments, and the Authority thereof, lays down this Assertion, "The most high and absolute Power of the Realm of England consisteth in the Parliament; and giving particular Instances of that Power, among others mentions this, "That the Parliament gives Forms of Succession to the Crown.

The Executive Power with us is lodg'd with the Prince; and I do readily allow that the Prince so vested with the Executive Power, and all others lawfully commission'd by him, acting according to their Commission, and within those Laws, with the Execution whereof he and they are respectively trusted, are irresistible: The Person of Prince is always inviolable: No personal Faults in him; no Injuries to particular Persons, where they can have no Redress by Law, as in several Cases they may have; no general *Male-Administration*, whereby the Publick may be greatly hurt, can justifie any forcible Resistance of his Subjects; nor any thing else than a total Subversion of the Constitution.

But if in a legal Monarchy, where such Laws have been enacted by common Consent of Prince and People, as are to be the Measures of his *Government*, as well as of their Obedience, that limit his Power, as well as secure

cure their Rights and Properties, the Prince shall change this Form of *Government* into an absolute *Tyranny*, set aside those Laws, and set up an *Arbitrary Will* in the room of them; When the Case is plain, and when all *Applications* and *Attempts* of other Kinds prove unsuccessful; If then the *Nobles* and *Commons* join together in Defence of their *Ancient Constitution*, *Government* and *Laws*, I cannot call them Rebels. Allow me, my Lords, to lay before you a few Things in maintenance of what I have advanced. And,

1. I would humbly offer some *Facts*, which I allow do not directly prove what I have said to be true, but they do prove it to have been the Opinion of our Princes, Parliaments, Clergy and People in the Reigns of those three great Princes, *Q. Elizabeth*, *K. James* and *K. Charles I.* I mean the *Assistances* which those Princes gave to the Subjects of other Countries that were resisting their respective Princes; and to enable them to do so, they had *Subsidies* given them in *Parliament* and *Convocation*---, and there were Prayers compos'd and used for the Success of their Arms.

Surely, my Lords, if those *Princes*, *Parliaments*, *Clergy* and *People* had been of Opinion, that the *Resistance* of Subjects against their Princes, was in no case lawful, but always damnable *Rebellion*; they would never by aiding and assisting such *Rebels* have involv'd themselves in the Guilt, and expos'd themselves to the dangerous Consequences of such a Sin. I mention not the particular Stories, because they are better known to your Lordships than to me, and because I doubt not but in the Course of this Debate, some *Lord* or other will give a larger *Account* of them; but I cannot forbear observing one thing relating to that *Assistance*, which that pious Prince, and now glorious Saint in Heaven, *K. Charles I.* gave to the *Rochellers*, who were surely the Subjects of the King of *France*; he order'd a *Fast* by *Proclamation*, and appointed a *Form of Prayer* to be drawn up for the imploring of God's Blessing. It is highly probable that Bishop *Laud* had the great Hand in composing those Prayers, he being then Bishop of *London*, and in great Favour, and

the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Abbot, at that time in Disgrace. But whoever compos'd them, I beg leave to read part of one of the Collects in that Office. " O Lord  
 " God of Hosts, that givest Victory in the Day of Battel,  
 " and Deliverance in the time of Trouble, We beseech thee  
 " to strengthen the Hands, and encourage the Hearts of thy  
 " Servants, in fighting thy Battles, and defending thy Altars  
 " that are among us, and in all the Reformed Churches.  
 It seems the reformed Churches were thought to have God's Altars among them then, however they have been vilify'd since. But that which I would observe from this Passage is this, That neither that excellent King who commanded those Prayers to be composed, nor the Bishops who compos'd them, nor the Clergy and People who us'd and join'd in them, could in so solemn a manner have recommended those Forces to the Divine Protection and Favour, and as such as were fighting God's Battles, if they had thought they were fighting against God in his Vice-gerent, and at defending his Altars, if they believed they were resisting his Ordinance.

2. I could produce several Authorities in support of what I have laid down, but I shall mention but one; It is in a Book written professedly on this Subject, and the Passage I shall quote comes home in point to the Matter in Hand; the Book was written in Q. Elizabeth's Time; every one that is acquainted with the History of Her Reign knows what Attempts were made by the Pope and his Party against her Government and Life, by Excommunicating, deposing her, absolving her Subjects from their Allegiance, by raising Tumults and Insurrections, by Dagger, Poyson, and what not: And 'tis certain, that they were these wicked Practices of the Pope and his Followers, and the Doctrines by which they justify'd them, that the Compilers of the Homilies, which were then made, and other Authors, who then wrote about the Power of the Prince and the Duty of the Subject, had principally in their View: The Book I mean, is intituled, *The true Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion.* It is written by way of Dialogue between a Christian, whom the Author calls

*Theophilus,*

Theophilus, and a Jesuit whom he calls *Philander*. I beg leave to read a Quotation out of it. *Theophilus the Christian* says, *I busie not my self in other Mens Commonwealths as you (the Jesuits) do, neither will I rashly pronounce all that resist, to be Rebels : Cases may fall out even in Christian Kingdoms, where the People may plead their Right against their Prince, and not be charged with Rebellion.* *Philander* the Jesuit asks, *as when for Example ?* *Theophilus the Christian* replies thus. *If a Prince should go about to subject his Kingdom to a foreign Realm, or change the Form of the Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny, or neglect the Laws establish'd by common consent of Prince and People, to execute his own Pleasure ; in these and other Cases, which might be named, if the Nobles and Commons join together to defend their ancient and accustom'd Liberty, Regiment and Laws, they may not well be accounted Rebels.* This Book is said, in the Title-page, to have been perused and allow'd by publick Authority ; was written by a great Man, Dr. *Bilson*, then Warden of *Winchester College*; printed at *Oxford* by the University-Printer, and dedicated to *Q. Elizabeth*, and the Author was afterwards made Bp. of *Winchester*. I could offer many other Authorities, not from false Sons, or perfidious Prelates of the Church, not from Men of *Faction* and *Antimonarchical Principles* in relation to the *State*, but venerable Names, *Ornaments to the Ages* they lived in, and such as will be remembred with Honour in succeeding ones : But I am superceded in producing, and your Lordships trouble saved in hearing more particular Quotations to this purpose, by what is yielded by a Reverend Divine of great Parts and Learning, far enough from the Suspicion of being prejudic'd against the Rights of Princes, or partial to those of the People, I mean the Reverend Dean of *Carlisle*, who in a Latin Discourse preach'd and printed in this Town upon the *Duty of Submission*, stating some Cases of extreme Necessity, and putting the Question, *Whether it may not be lawful for the People in such Cases to resist ?* answers *Viri, boni & graves, &c.* " That good and judicious Men, Men that have " taken great and useful Pains in defending the Rights " of

" Princes, and repressing popular License, have contend-  
 " ed that it is Lawful: He adds indeed, " whether they  
 " have done Right or Wrong, let others judge; and  
 does not give his own Opinion. But since he has grant-  
 ed, that such Men as he has described, Men of Probity  
 and Judgment, zealous Assertors of the Rights of Princes,  
 and Repressors of popular License, have contended  
 that in Cases of extreme Necessity it is lawful for the  
 People to defend themselves; I may comfort my self, if  
 I err in my Opinion, that I err in good Company. But  
 I humbly conceive I do not err, and that,

3. For this plain Reason, That if it be utterly unlaw-  
 ful to Resist in any Case whatsoever, even that of a to-  
 tal Subversion of the Constitution and Laws; then there  
 is no Distinction of Governments, of Absolute, I mean,  
 and Limited; or if there be a Distinction, it is a nominal  
 one without any real Difference; for what difference is  
 there between a Prince's governing Arbitrarily without  
 Law, and governing Arbitrarily against Law? Betwixt  
 having no Laws at all, and having precarious Laws that  
 depend intirely on the Will of the Prince, whether he  
 will observe one of them or subvert them all, and if he  
 does, the People cannot help themselves?

But, my Lords, I hope and believe that there is a real  
 distinction of Governments, and that the Subjects of all  
 Governments are not in the same wretched Condition  
 that those of *France* and *Turkey* are in. I hope we have  
 not boasted falsely or vainly of our own Form of Govern-  
 ment, that we are bles'd with a Constitution more hap-  
 py than any other Nation in the World enjoys, that al-  
 lows and secures as great and (I had almost said) God-like  
 Powers and Prerogatives to the Crown as any wise and  
 good Prince can desire, a Power of doing every thing  
 that is Good and nothing that is Ill, and at the same  
 Time secures most valuable Rights and Privileges to the  
 People.

What wise or good Prince would not rather chuse to  
 reign over free Subjects, than tyrannize over Slaves? To  
 receive a willing cheerful Obedience proceeding from  
 the Principles of Gratitude, Love and Interest as well as  
 of

of Duty, rather than a forced one, owing meerly to a Principle of Fear, the Principle from whence the Indians worship the Evil Spirits?

My Lords, such a Frame of Government your Lordships have receiv'd from your Ancestors; and I hope and trust, that in grateful Respect to their Memory, and in tender Regard to your Posterity, [ I say nothing of *our selves*, my Lords; for as for us who have the Happiness to live under the Government of the best of Princes that ever Heaven bless'd a Nation with; for us, I say, were our Government as Arbitrary as any in the *East*, yet I should think our Rights, Liberties and Properties, and whatever is most dear and valuable to us, as safe as if they depended entirely upon Her Majesty's gracious Will, as they are now they are secured to us by our Laws, or stronger Fences, if they could be made] but I speak in regard to those that are to come after us; and I do hope and trust, that as your Lordships have receiv'd such an inestimable Treasure from your Predecessors, you will transmit inviolable to your Posterity.

My Lords, I fear I tire you, but I must beg your Patience a little longer, while I express my Surprize and Wonder that the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, in the unlimited Extent in which some explain it, is so diligently inculcated, and so zealously press'd at this Time.

*Passive Obedience*, I own when truly stated, is a truly Christian Duty, a perpetual Duty as to the Obligation, but occasional as to the Practice of it. Now Preachers do not usually, neglecting the pressing of other Duties of more constant Practice, lay out their Time and Labour in filling both Pages of their Discourses with earnest Assertions and violent Exhortations to the Practice of an occasional Duty, unless they have some near Prospect of an Occasion for the Exercise of it. And yet, my Lords, has this one Duty been of late, more frequently and earnestly asserted and urged both from Pulpit and Press, than all the other Duties of Christianity: And what occasion for this does any one pretend to have in view?

Can

Can there be a Wretch so abandon'd, so lost to all Sense of Gratitude and every thing that is good, as to be capable of admitting a Thought, that our gracious Queen has done, is doing, or intending to do any thing, that may give her Subjects occasion for the Practice of this Duty? Has she not ever since her happy Accession to the Throne, postponed, sacrificed her own Repose and Ease to the Quiet and Happiness of her Subject? Has she not clearly shown that she has nothing so much at Heart, as the Good and Prosperity of her People, the true Interest and Honour of her Kingdom, which she has carried higher than any of her Royal Predecessors ever did before her? Has she not approv'd Her self a true Parent of her political Children, by exercising as prudent a Care of, and expressing on all Occasions as tender an Indulgence to them, as any natural Parents ever did towards theirs?

If then there be no Occasion from the Conduct of our Prince, is there any Reason from the Behaviour of Her People that may justify this extraordinary and otherwise unseasonable Zeal for this Doctrine? Do they (excepting such as the Zealots for this Doctrine have excited to disturb her peaceful Reign at home, by rebellious and dangerous Tumults and Insurrections) shew any Uneasiness under Her Majesty's Government, or Inclinations to throw it off? Do they not bless their glorious Queen and God for her? Do they not on all Occasions express their grateful Sense of the many inestimable Blessings they enjoy through her Administration? Do not they constantly offer up their devout Prayers to God for her long Life and happy Reign? Do they not willingly pay their Taxes for the Support of her Government, cheerfully expend their Treasure and Blood too in Defence of it?

What then can be said for such a Conduct which can have no other natural Tendency than to create unreasonable Jealousies of her People in the Head of our Queen, and groundless Fears of their Queen in the Hearts of her People? Jealousies in the Queen, that her Subjects are inclinable to rebel against her, when the Clergy think it nece-

necessary thus to press these Restraints upon them; and  
Fears in the People, when their Pastors are so industri-  
ously preparing them for Sufferings?

My Lords, I would not be thought to charge upon all  
that hold and assert this Doctrine, the Consequences which  
may with too much Reason charge upon some of them;  
I mean such as do not allow Her Majesty's Title to the  
Crown, but refuse to take the Oaths to Her, or join in  
Prayer for Her, and have upon that account form'd one of  
the most unaccountable Schisms that ever was made in the  
Church: Some of these have engaged zealously in asserting  
this Doctrine; and one of them in a Paper written in Vin-  
dication of it, has not been afraid to insinuate a Parallel  
between the Case of *Her Majesty* and the *Pretender*, and  
that of *Athaliah* and *Joash*.

Horrid Suggestion that would make one tremble! What  
do these Men mean? Any Service to Her Majesty? No:  
The Consequences as to them are plain. If to Resist upon  
any Occasion whatever, be unlawful, be Rebellion, dam-  
nable Rebellion; then the Revolution was Rebellion, and  
all that were concern'd in it are involv'd in that Guilt;  
then we have continued in a Rebellion ever since; then  
if we wou'd avoid Damnation, we must repent of that Sin;  
but there is no true Repentance without Restitution, and if  
there must be Restitution, they will tell you what that is.

I would charitably hope, that the unfortunate Person  
now in Judgment before your Lordships, did not intend  
to carry Matters so far: But I must say, his Doctrine as  
as he has stated and managed it, under his Head of *False  
Brotherhood*, with relation to the State, does give too great  
a Handle for those that have such Views, to improve what  
he has said to their Purposes.

The Council for him, have labour'd to defend him a-  
gainst the Charge in this Article, by producing a great  
many Quotations out of the *Homilies*, *Statutes*, and *Writ-  
ings* of Divines dead and living, wherein this Doctrine  
has been laid down generally. They all allow'd that Cases  
of extream Necessity were always excepted out of this ge-  
neral Doctrine; and that tho' the Exception was not ex-  
press'd, yet it was always imply'd; and they allow'd far-  
ther,

ther, that the Case of the Revolution was a Case of such Necessity: But how did they apply this to the Case of their Client? Thus: They said, that those Divines whom they had quoted, were never found fault with for asserting the Doctrine in general Terms, not expressing but tacitly implying the Exception; Then they ask'd why should the Doctor be charged for asserting the Doctrine in general Terms as others had done, not expressing the Exception which they had not express'd? Why should not he be intitled to the favourable Construction of tacitly implying the Exception of Cases of Necessity, such a Necessity as they allow'd justify'd the Revolution?

Indeed I should readily have admitted the Plea, if the Doctor had done no more than barely assert the Doctrine in general Terms, and his only Fault had been that he had not express'd the Exception which he tacitly imply'd: But has he done no more than this? Has he not mention'd the Case of the Revolution, with no other View, as I can see, than to expose it, not as an Exception out of his general Position, but an Objection against it? Our Adversaries, says he, that is, those that oppose his general Doctrine, think they have us sure, *i. e.* effectually confute that Doctrine, by objecting the Revolution. This Objection must suppose that there was Resistance at the Revolution; for to say that the general Doctrine, that it is not lawful in any Case to resist, is not true, because the Revolution was lawful, in which there was no Resistance, would be a wonderful Objection indeed: I say, Resistance must be suppos'd in the Objection, to make Sense of it. How then does he solve this Objection? Does he say the general Doctrine always implies an Exception of Cases of Necessity? That the Revolution was a Case of such Necessity, and therefore that Necessity justify'd the Resistance at the Revolution? No, but by advancing a strange Position (which he proves by as strange a Medium) *viz.* *That there was no Resistance at the Revolution:* plainly implying, that if there was Resistance at the Revolution, which every Body knows there was, the Revolution stands condemn'd by his general Doctrine. So that I cannot see that his learned Council, who wanted neither Abilities

ties nor Inclinations to serve him, have at all defended him against the Charge in this Article. But this they have effectually done, they have given up his general Doctrine, if it admits of no Exceptions; and thereby clear'd the Revolution and the necessary Means whereby it was brought about, from those black and odious Colours which he endeavour'd to cast upon them.

After all, I can truly appeal to my own Heart, and a greater than it, the Searcher of it, that I am not any ways prejudiced against the Person of the unhappy Prisoner, but rather in favour of him, as I am of all Men in his suffering Circumstances, by a natural Tenderness (it may be a Weakness, but such a one as I cannot help) which never suffers me, however oblig'd in Justice to it, to do a hard thing to any one however deserving it, without doing at the same time a hard thing to my self: And if your Lordships should be of Opinion in the Conclusion of this Tryal, That the Commons have made good their Charge against him, I am sure I could come into as easy a Sentence upon him as may be consistent with the Honour and Justice of your Proceedings, and with that which I take to be the chief End in all Punishments, not so much the hurting the Offender, as the preventing the like Offences, and hindring others from committing them for the future.

But still, my Lords, there is surely a Tenderness and Compassion due to our Queen, our Country, and our Posterity, all which I humbly apprehend are highly concern'd in the Issue of this Affair.

If Clergymen may with Impunity publickly in their Sermons arraign and condemn the Revolution: besides the Reflections they cast upon all the worthy Patriots that were concern'd in that great Work, the Commonalty, Gentry, and Nobility, Lords upon every Bench in this House; besides this, it must shake, it must sap the very Foundation of our present Establishment, as it stands upon the Foot of the Revolution, and utterly destroy our future hopes in the Protestant Succession which is founded upon that bottom only.

My

My Lords, I must humbly ask Pardon for having trespass'd so long upon your Patience, and will conclude with this one Word, That in my Opinion, these Practisings of Clergy-men (to use the Expression of a great and eminent Prelate) in State Matters, are of that dangerous Tendency and Consequence, that if there be not some effectual Stop put to these Practisings, these Practisings will, in time, put an effectual End to our Constitution.

The Commons had therefore Reason to bring this Matter in Judgment before your Lordships, and I think they have fully made good their Charge in the first Article of their Impeachment against Dr. Sacheverell.




---

F I N I S.

THE  
Bishop of LINCOLN's  
AND  
Bishop of NORWICH's  
**SPEECHES**  
IN THE  
HOUSE of LORDS,  
*March the 17<sup>th</sup>.*

AT THE  
Opening of the SECOND ARTICLE of  
the Impeachment against Dr. Sacheverell.

---

---

L O N D O N:  
Printed in the YEAR 1710.



---



---

## The Bishop of LINCOLN's Speech in the House of Lords, &c.

MY LORDS,

**I**T was the Misfortune of some of our Bench, that in the Prosecution of the foregoing *Article* of this *Impeachment*, a Noble *Lord*, who spoke very early to that *Point*, was pleased not only to Anticipate our Judgment in that Particular; but to do it with this pretty Hard Reflection, That in giving it, as He suppos'd we WOULD, We should *Vote contrary to our own Doctrine*. It is not improbable but that, in the Course of the present Debate, another *Arrow* may be drawn out of the same \* *Quiver* to shoot at us; and we may be told, that in defending of the † *Toleration granted by Law to the Dissenters*, we shew our selves to be *Apostates from our own Order*. But from both these Imputations I am perswaded both our *Writings*, and our *Actions*, will secure Us in the Judgment of all indifferent Persons.

The Substance of this *Second Article* of the *Impeachment*, which your Lordships are now about to enter upon, is this: “ *That Dr. S. in his Sermon, doth suggest and maintain, that the Toleration, granted by Law, is Unreasonable, and the Allowance of it Unwarrantable.* ” *That He is a False-brother with relation to God, Religion, or the Church, who defends Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience.* *That Q. Elizabeth was deluded by Archbishop Grindal to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline:* *And that it is the Duty of Superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anath-*

---

\* See Dr. S.'s Answer to the 1st Article of Impeachment. His Speech, Fol. Pag. 23.

† Dr. S.'s Serm. at St. Paul's, Pag. 8.

" ma's against Persons entituled to the Benefit of the Toleration ; and insolently dares, or defies, any Power on Earth to Reverse such Sentences." This, my Lords, is the Sum of this part of the *Commons Charge against Dr. S.* and I think the Managers have fully made it out; not by bare Intentments, by unnecessary Implications, and forced Constructions; not by piecing together broken Sentences, and Conjoining of distant, and independent Passages (as he has unjustly Complain'd); but by the plain Words, and necessary Meaning, of a very great part of his *Discourse*.

But before I trouble your *Lordships* with the Proof of this, give me leave, upon this Occasion (tho' it be no part of the *Impeachment* laid against the *Preacher*) to observe to your *Lordships* what a strange Account he has thought fit to publish of that other *popular Engine*, which, he says, has been made use of \* to pull down the *Church*, and which he calls by the Name of *Comprehension*.

The Person who first concerted this supposed *Design against our Church*, was the late most Reverend Dr. *Sancroft*, then *Archbishop of Canterbury*. The *Time*, was towards the End of that unhappy *Reign*, of which so much was said upon the Occasion of the *foregoing Article*. Then, when we were in the height of our Labours, defending the *Church of England* against the *Assaults of Popery*, and thought of nothing else; that Wise *Prelate* foreseeing some such *Revolution* as soon after was happily brought about; began to consider how utterly unprepared they had been at the *Restoration* of King *Charles the Second* to settle many things to the Advantage of the *Church*; and what a happy Opportunity had been lost for want of such a previous Care, as he was therefore desirous should now be taken, for the better and more perfect Establishment of it. It was visible to all the Nation, that the more *moderate Dissenters* were generally so well satisfied with that Stand which our *Divines* had made against *Popery*, and the many Unanswerable

\* Serm. Pag. 16, 17.

Treatises they had publish'd in Confutation of it, as to express an unusual Readiness to come in to us. And it was therefore thought worth the while, when they were deliberating about those other Matters, to consider at the same time what might be done to *Gain Them*, without doing any *Prejudice to Our selves*.

The Scheme was laid out, and the several Parts of it were committed, not only with the *Approval*, but by the *Direction* of that Great Prelate, to such of our Divines as were thought the most proper to be intrusted with it. His Grace took one Part to *Himself*: Another was committed to a then Pious and Reverend \* *Dean*, afterwards a *Bishop*, of our Church. The reviewing of the *Daily Service* of our *Liturgy*, and the *Communion-Book*, was referr'd to a Select Number of excellent Persons, † two of which are at this time upon our Bench; and I am sure will bear Witness to the Truth of my Relation. The Design was, in short, this: To *improve*, and, if possible, to *inforce* our *Discipline*; to *Review*, and *Enlarge* our *Liturgy*; by *Correcting* of *some things*, by *Adding* of *others*; and, if it should be thought advisable by Authority, when this Matter should come to be legally consider'd, first in *Convocation*, then in *Parliament*; by leaving some few *Ceremonies*, confess'd to be *Indifferent* in their *Natures*, as *Indifferent* in their *Usage*, so as not to be necessarily Observed by Those who made a *Scruple* of them; 'till they should be able to Overcome either their Weaknesses or Prejudices, and be willing to comply with Them.

How far this good *Design* was not only known to, but approved of by, the Other *Fathers* of our *Church*; that famous *Petition*, for which Seven of them were sent to the *Tower*, and which contributed so much to our *Deliverance*, may suffice to shew. The "Willingness they " there declared of coming to such a Temper as should be " thought fit with the *Dissenters*, when that Matter " should be Consider'd, and Settled, in *Parliament* and

\* Dr. Patrick, Bishop of *Ely*.

† The Archbishop of *Tork* and Bishop of *Ely*.

“ Convocation; ” manifestly referr’d to what was then known to Several, if not All of the Subscribers, to have been at that very time under Deliberation. And that nothing more was intended than I have before said, is as evident from what was publickly declared in a *Treatise* purposely written to recommend the *Design* when it was brought before the two *Houses of Parliament*, in the Beginning of the late *Reign*; and *Licensed by the Authority of a Noble Peer*, now present, who was at that time *Secretary of State*: In the very Beginning of which there is this remarkable Passage, which I shall beg Leave to read to your Lordships : \* “ *No Alteration, that I know of, is intended but in things declared to be Alterable by the Church its self. And if Things Alterable be Altered upon the Grounds of Prudence and Charity ; and Things defective be supplied ; and Things Abused be Restored to their proper Use ; and Things of a more Ordinary Composition, Revised and Improved ; whilst the DOCTRINE, GOVERNMENT, and WORSHIP of the Church remain Intire, in ALL the Substantial parts of Them ; We have all reason to believe that this will be so far from Injuring the Church, that, on the contrary, it shall receive a very great Benefit by it.* ”

And now, my Lords, let any impartial Person consider, what was there in such a *Design* that could be justly esteem’d prejudicial to the *Constitution of our Church*? Wherein would our *Canons* have suffer’d, if Those already made, had been more strongly *Enforced*; and some *New Ones* had been *Added*, for the *Reformation of Manners*; for the better *punishing of Notorious Offenders*; and to render our *Publick Discipline* more strict and severe? This we have been Wishing for, ever since the *Reformation*: What Harm would it have done our *Church* had it now been Effectuated? Or how would our excellent *Liturgy* have been the worse, if a few more *doubtful Expressions* had been *Changed* for *plainer, and clearer*; and a *passage, or two*, which however capable of a *just Defence* yet in

---

\* A Letter to a Member of Parliament in favour of the Bill for *Uniting Protestants*: Licensed by the Command of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, April 1. 1689. *Fa. Vernon.* Pag. 2.

many Cases seem harsh to some even of our Own Communion, had either been wholly left at liberty, in such Cases, to be Omitted altogether; Or been so qualified as to remove all Exception against Them in Any Case. If such Collects, as are not yet adapted to the Festivals, or Gospels, to which they belong; had been made more full, and apposite to Both; If some of the Occasional Offices had been Enlarged; and New Ones Added: If, for Example, there had been a greater Variety of Prayers, Psalms, and Lessons appointed by Authority, instead of the Compositions of private Persons, now necessarily to be used, for the Visitation of the Sick; and New Forms composed for the Use of Prisoners for Debt or Crimes? For the greater Solemnity of Receiving Proselytes into our Church; of Reconciling Penitents to it; and of Casting Notorious Offenders out of it. These were some of the main things that were then design'd: As for any favour to the Dissenters, None, that I know of, was intended, but what should have been entirely consistent with our Own Constitution: And I hope it will not be thought any Crime for the Bishops, and Clergy of our Church, to be willing to enlarge its Communion, by any Methods which may be likely to Gain Others, and yet not injure our Own Establishment.

But to satisfie your Lordships that nothing could have been designed to the Detriment of the Church; Be pleased farther to consider, how what was thus at first projected in private, by select Persons, and in a difficult Time, when no Countenance was to be expected from Authority to any such purpose; was afterwards, if ever, to have been brought to Maturity. And this being a matter of Publick Notice, the relation of it will admit of no Exception.

No sooner were their late Majesties, of Glorious Memory, seated in their Thrones, but this Design was openly Espoused by 'em. A Commission was issued out, under the Great Seal of England, to a large number of Bishops and other Eminent Divines, to meet together, and to consider of these Matters. What they did, having not had the Honour to be one of them, I shall not presume to say. This we know, that whatever they did, it was to have been carried on from Them to the two Convocations of Canterbury and York:

And after it shou'd have pass'd their Approbations, it was finally to have been laid before the *two Houses of Parliament*, and so to have gone on to the *Royal Assent*. This, my *Lords*, was the Course thro' which all that was designed, or should have been done in this matter, must have pass'd; and I am perswaded nothing very injurious to our *Churches Welfare*, will ever be able to pass thro' all these.

Having thus given your *Lordships* a true account of that *Design* which Dr. S. mentions under the Name of *Comprehension*; I doubt not but that your *Lordships* will now be amazed to hear, what a false and scandalous Report he has made of it. In the 16th Page of his *Sermon*, he thus speaks of it: “*The worst Adversaries of our Church*, says “he, were to be let into her Bowels under the Holy “Umbrage of *Sons*; who neither BELIEVED her “FAITH; OWN'D her MISSION; SUBMITTED “to her DISCIPLINE; or COMPLIED with her “LITURGY. For the admitting of this *Trojan Horse*, “big with *Arms* and *Ruin* into our *Holy City*, the “Straight Gate was to be laid quite open; Her Walls and “Enclosures to be pull'd down; and a *High-road* made in “upon Her Communion. Her *Articles* to be taught the “Confusion of all *Senses, Nations, and Languages*.

This, my *Lords*, is a very strange Representation of so Good a *Design*, as that I before recounted to your *Lordships*. Yet this Representation did this bold Man, as confidently, as falsely, make of it in the *House of God*; and publish to the View of the whole *Nation*. For thus he goes on: “This pious Design of making our *House of Prayer* a *Den of Thieves*, of Reforming our *Church* into “a *Chaos*; is well known to have been attempted several “times in this *Kingdom*, and LATELY WITHIN “OUR MEMORY; when All Things seem'd to fa- “vour it, but that *Good Providence* which so happily in- “terposed against the *Ruin of our Church*, and blasted the “long projected Scheme of THESE ECCLESIASTI- “CAL *ACHITOPHELS*.” To say nothing more of the *Design* it self, of which I have given an Account before; Pray, my *Lords*, who were the *ACHITOPHELS*

that

that projected it ; and must have concurr'd to the Execution of? I have already named the First, and Chiefest of them, the late *Archbishop SANCROFT*. The next who openly approved of it, were the *Commissioners* who met upon it in the *Jerusalem-Chamber* : A Set of Men, than which this *Church* was never, at any one time, bless'd with either wiser or better, since it was a *Church* : \* Who it was that *Presidèd* in the *Convocation* of this *Province*, to which this *Project* was next to be referr'd ; and who, had it gone on, must have had a chief Hand in the Management of it, I need not say. Every one who knows any thing at all of his *Character*, (and I am sure your *Lordships* are none of you Strangers to it) knows him to be too good a Friend to the *Establishment* of our *Church*, to have been capable of being engaged in such a *Villainous Design*, as Dr. S. pretends, for the Subversion of it. Or had He been otherwise, yet still the Major part of that Venerable Body must have been as great *Achitophels* as himself, or no Harm could have been done by Him. Pardon me, my *Lords*, if the Course of my Argument obliges me to rise yet one Degree higher, and to say, that the like *Majority* of your *Lordships*, and of the *House of Commons*, together with his late *Majesty*, must All have come into the *Plot* against the *Church*; or all the Skill, and Malice, of the *Inferior Achitophels*, would have signified nothing. And what Censure that Man deserves who has the Confidence to insinuate to the World, that the *Bishops*, the other *Clergy*, the *Convocations*; the *Parliament*, nay, and the late *King* himself, or Glorious Deliverer; or at least the greater part of all these, were engaged in a Project “*so Monstrous, so Romantic, and Absurd*, (for here I am content to use his own Expressions) *that it is hard to say whether it had more of Villany, or Folly, in it*”, I shall submit it to your *Lordships* to consider. All I design in taking notice of this part of his *Sermon*, is only to clear the Memory of many excellent Persons who are *dead*; and to vindicate the Reputation of some still *living*, and in the highest Stations of the *Church*; from that Load of

---

\* The Lord Bishop of *London*.

Infamy which this Rash Man has with so much Virulence of Speech cast upon them: And to let your *Lordships* see that nothing was intended in all that Affair but what was both Honourable to those who engaged in it; and I am perswaded would have been for the Interest and Peace of our Church and State, had it been accomplish'd.

I come now to that which is the proper Subject of the present Debate; namely, to offer such Passages to your *Lordships*, as I humbly conceive do plainly and fully make out the *Second Article* of the *Commons Impeachment* against the *Preacher*; and prove him to have spoken with more Freedom than he ought, not only of the *Dissenters themselves*, but of the *Toleration*, (or as he had rather we should call it) the *Indulgence* granted by *Law* to them.

And here, as I remember, it was not deny'd either by His *Council*, or *Himself*, but that he had spoken, and spoken with Warmth too, against *Toleration*. The only Question is, What the *Toleration* is against which he spake? Whether it was that which has been granted, by *Law* to the *Dissenters*? Or whether it was only against a *General Toleration of Atheists, Deists, Socinians; Men of no Principles, perhaps of no Religion?* Or at most against such of the *Dissenters* as *Abused* the *Indulgence* granted them by *Law*; and made use of it to Purposes not at all warranted by it? The former of these the *Commons* charge upon him: The latter He pretends; the better to clear himself of their Charge.

To determine this Point, I must in the first place beg leave to observe, that among the several sorts of *False-Brethren*, enumerated by the *Preacher* with relation to *God, Religion, or the Church*; the *Second kind* is of those, who give up any Point of the Churches Discipline, and Worship, *Page 8.* To this he adds, that those are *False-Brethren* who defend *Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience*. And that we may the better know what *Toleration and Liberty of Conscience*, He means; He specifies the very Persons to whom He refers, and of whom He speaks; the *DISSENTERS*: “If, says he, to comply with the DISSENTERS both in publick and private Affairs, as Persons of tender Conscience and Piety, to promote THEIR Interests

“ in

" in Elections; to sneak to THEM for Places and Pre-  
 " ferment, to defend Toleration and Liberty of Consci-  
 " ence, and under the pretence of Moderation, excuse  
 " THEIR SEPARATION, are the Criterions of a True  
 " Church Man; God deliver Us All from such False Bre-  
 " thren". The Toleration therefore, and Liberty of Con-  
 " science, against which he speaks, must necessarily be that  
 of the DISSENTERS; those who SEPARATE from  
 our Church: He names no others; but carries the same  
 Persons thro' his whole Sentence, both before and after  
 those Expressions. Either therefore it is no Reflection up-  
 on the *Act of Indulgence* to say that all those who defend  
 the Toleration of the DISSENTERS, and are for allowing  
*Liberty of Conscience* to THEM, are *false-Brethren with  
 relation to God, Religion or the Church*, Page 6, 7, and such  
 against whom we ought to pray to God to deliver Us All,  
 Page 8: Or if this cannot with any reason be either said,  
 or supposed, then it must remain that Dr. S. has here said  
 what the Commons charge him withal; and that in express  
 terms, viz. That He is a *false Brother who defends the Tol-  
 eration, not of Deists, Socinians, and I know not what Mon-  
 sters of Irreligion, but of the DISSENTERS*: Those same  
*Dissenters* who by the *Act of Indulgence* have a right to that  
*Liberty of Conscience* of which this Gentleman speaks so  
 very hardly; and prays God to Defend Us from all such  
*False Brethren as shall presume to excuse it.*

But not to insist upon a single Passage which may be  
 supposed to have dropt unwarily from him: In the Second  
 Part of his Sermon, He proceeds to shew the great Perils  
 and Mischiefs of those False Brethren, against whom He was  
 before speaking, both to the Church and State: pag. 15.  
 And that These again are the same Persons who have a  
 right to the Legal Indulgence is so very clear, that I do not  
 see how it is possible for any one to make the least doubt  
 of it. Pag. 18. He describes them as *Occasional Confor-  
 mists to the Church*. Pag. 19. As *those who had the Old  
 Leaven of their Fore-fathers still working in them*: And,  
 in the next Sentence, He expressly takes notice of the  
*Religious Liberty which our Gracious Sovereign has IN-  
 DULGED them*. This in the very same Sentence  
 He calls **THEIR TOLERATION**; (for the Doctor  
 himself

himself is not tied up to any Niceties of Expression; He may call it so, tho' Others may not:) These are the *Persons*, and the *only Persons*, of whom he speaks in all that part of his *Discourse*; let us see what he says of the *Indulgence* granted by *Law* to them.

And first, he tel's us, *Page* 18. "That it cannot be denied, but that tho' they do submit to the Government, their Obedience is forced, and constrain'd; and so treacherous, and uncertain, as never to be trusted. That they are as much Occasional Loyalists to the State, as they are Occasional Conformists to the Church; and will betray either whenever it is in their Power, and they think it for their Advantage. That nothing but a Sottish Infatuation can so far blind our Eyes and our Judgments, as to make Us believe that the same Causes should not produce the same Effects; that the same Latitudinarian and Republican Notions, should not bring forth the same Rebellious and Pernicious Consequences. That we shall be convinced to our Sorrow, if we don't apprehend that the Old Leaven of their Fore-fathers is still working in the present Generation; and that this Traditional Poyson still remains in this brood of Vipers to sting us to Death. That they have advanced themselves from the RELIGIOUS LIBERTY which our Gracious Sovereign has INDULGED them, to claim a Civil Right; and to justle the Church out of Her Establishment, by hoisting THEIR TOLERATION into its Place. That to convince us what alone will satisfie them, they insolently demand the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, which under Her Majesty, is the only Security the Church has to depend upon: And which (if we may believe Him,) They have so far eluded by their abominable Hypocrisie, as to have undermin'd her Foundations, and indanger the Government, by filling it with its professed Enemies". His meaning is plainly this; that the *Dissenters*, whom we are so foolish as to *Indulge*, are a parcel of *False and Treacherous Persons*; *Enemies* both to our *Church* and *State*; and such as if not timely suppress'd, will convince us to our Sorrow of the weaknes and folly, of taking such *Vipers* into our Bosom, as watch only for a fair opportunity to sting us to Death. But

But what then must we do to secure our selves against these *dangerous Enemies*? Why first, the Doctor assures us, that they are never to be gain'd by any favour that can be shew'd to them. \* "That *He must be very Weak, or something worse, that thinks, or pretends, that the DISSENTERS (for of These he still speaks) are to be won over by any other GRANTS and INDULGENCES than giving up our WHOLE CONSTITUTION*". This shews the folly of trying the soft way of *Indulgence* with them: And therefore he concludes; That "He who re- cedes the least tittle from it (our Constitution) to satisfy, or ingratiate with, these Clamorous, Insatiable, Church-devouring Malignants, knows not what Spirit they are of; or he ought to shew who is the true Member of our Church.

This I think comes fully up to what is objected against Him; namely, that Doctor S. does in his Sermon suggest and maintain, "that the Toleration granted by Law is Unreasonable, and the allowance of it Unwarrantable". For so it needs must be, if the *Dissenters* be such Men as he tells us they are; and will be satisfy'd with nothing less, than he assures us they will. And yet what next follows, is, if possible, still more express to the same purpose. It is objected against him, by the *Commons*, that he had affirm'd in his Sermon, That "Queen Elizabeth was deluded by Arch-bishop Grindall, (whom he scurrilously calls a False Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate;) to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline. The Fact is not denied; but the Expressions are excus'd; and the Truth of the *Allegation* is endeavoured to be made out by *Historical Memoirs*: And it is hoped that your Lordships will not account it a *High Crime and Misdemeanor*, to have spoken too hardly of a Prelate who has been so many Years in his Grave.

I am, my Lords, very far from thinking, that the *Commons* ever intended to charge Dr. S. as guilty of *High Crimes and Misdemeanors*, for speaking scandalously of *that Good Arch-bishop*. Their Concern was not for *His Person*, what Respect soever they may have had (as all true

---

\* Serm. Pag. 19.

Friends of the *Reformation* must needs have a very great One) for his Memory. But the Truth of the Matter is this. The *Preacher* complains Page 19 of his *Sermon*; that *Queen Elizabeth was deluded by Archbishop Grindal, to the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline.* " He adds, that " the Arch-bishop was a perfidious Prelate, for deluding her to Tolerate that Discipline. That she found it such a Headstrong and Encroaching Monster, that in Eight Years she saw it would endanger the Monarchy as well as the Hierarchy: And like a Queen of true Resolution, and pious Zeal for Both, she pronounced that such were the restless Spirits of that factious People\*, that no quiet was to be expected from them, 'till they were UTTERLY SUPPRESS'D. That this therefore like a prudent Prince, she did by wholesome Severities; and the Effect was, that by this means the Crown for many Years sate easie and flourishing on her Head. But that her Successor, King James, did not follow her Wise Politicks: And the Result was as Deplorable on his Side, as it had been Glorious on Hers. For by this means, " His Son fell a Martyr to their Fury: His unhappy Offspring, suffer'd such disastrous Calamities, as made the Royal Family One continued Sacrifice to their Malice". And all this for want of those wholesome Severities which the wise Queen his Predecessor, had Used utterly to suppress that Factious People.

This, my Lords, is the Doctor's *Narrative*, and I have given it you in his own Words. The *Application* is plain, and Home. The *Dissenters* are now again *Tolerated*, as they were heretofore under *Queen Elizabeth*. There is a *perfidious Prelate* (perhaps in his Opinion a great many) who, like *Archbishop Grindal*, help to delude another Queen, into the *Toleration* of them. These EIGHT YEARS past (for the very number of Years is remarkable) Her Majesty has born the *restless Spirits* of this *factious People*; and had no quiet from them. It is now high time for Her to alter Her Measures, as *Queen Elizabeth* wisely did. It is the only way to

---

\* Serm. Page 20.

make the Crown fit *Easie*, and *Flourishing*, upon her Head. And if this be not plainly to speak out what he would have done with the *Act of Indulgence*, I must despair of ever being able to know any Man's Meaning by his Expressions. Such Examples are not only the most likely to infuse, but the most proper, and lively Methods to convey a Man's Sense, even to the dullest Capacity; and make him clearly perceive if not what he ought, yet I am sure what the Preacher would have him to do.

The truth is, so plain was his Meaning, that He Himself began to fear that he had gone a little too far in what he had said of this Matter. And, for that reason, He added that One, poor Sentence which immediately follows, and of which he has made such good Use since : “*That He would not be Misunderstood as if He intended to Cast the least Invidious Reflection upon that Indulgence the Government had condescended to give them, (the Dissenters:)*” But what then did He intend by all this bitter Invective against them; and that very *Instructive* piece of *History* with which He concluded it? He “has told Us that the *Dissenters* are “*False-Brethren; Destructive both of our Civil and Ecclesiastical Rights. That they are Occasional Loyalists to the State, as well as Occasional Conformists to the Church; and will betray both whenever they have it in their Power, and it shall be their Interest, to do it.*” That it must be a Sottish Infatuation to believe that the same Latitudinarian, and Republican Notions, shuld not bring forth the same Rebellious, and Pernicious Consequences : That we shall be convinc'd to our sorrow, if we do not apprehend that the Old Leaven of their Fore-fathers, is still working in the present Generation : That they have already made dangerous Encroachments upon the Government; and publish'd Treasonable Reflections upon Her Majesty : That they have advanc'd their Indulgence into a Civil Right, and justled the Church out of Her Establishment, by hoisting their Toleration into its place : That They have by their abominable Hypocrisie undermined the Foundation of the Church, and endanger'd the Government, by filling

“ it

" it with its profess'd Enemies : That they *are* Clamo-  
 " rous, Insatiable, Church-Devouring Malignants ;  
 " Whom no other Grants, or Indulgencies can Win over  
 " but the giving up our whole Constitution : That ever  
 " since their first unhappy Plantation in this Kingdom, they  
 " have Improved, and Rose upon their Demands in the  
 " Permission of the Government : That Queen Eliza-  
 " beth, who Tolerated them for eight Years together, was  
 " forced at last to suppress Them by Wholesome Severities :  
 " That this made her Crown sit Ease and Flourishing on  
 " her Head ; whereas King James the First by not pursu-  
 " ing the like Methods ruined the whole Royal Family :  
 " That nothing better could be expected from such Mis-  
 " creants, Begot in Rebellion, Born in Sedition, and  
 " Nursed up in Faction :" All this Dr. S. has said in  
 these very plain, and emphatical Words. If He did  
 not intend by all this to shew the Necessity of Suppressing  
 these *Factionis People*, these *Vipers*, who are *just ready*  
 to *sting us all to Death*, I would be glad to know what  
 it was that He *did intend* by it ? Could He say all this,  
 and with such a singular Strain of impetuous Eloquence,  
 and yet "not intend to cast so much as the least invidi-  
 " ous Reflections upon that Indulgence which the Govern-  
 " ment has thought fit to give them ? I must freely own,  
 my *Lords*, I could never have imagined this : Nay, I  
 must be excused if I add, That notwithstanding this  
 poor Evasion, I cannot yet believe it. But the *Act of*  
*Indulgence* stood in his way : That *Act* the *Queen* had  
 declared her *Resolution* to maintain : Your *Lordships* and  
 the *Commons* had often shewn Your Steddiness to the  
 same Effect. Even Those who press'd so violently a-  
 gainst *Occasional Communion*, yet thought it necessary to  
 say, in the very *Preamble* of that *Bill*, that the *Act of*  
*Indulgence* ought *inviolably to be Observed* : And there-  
 fore Dr. S. thought it needful to add somewhat that He  
 knew would not take off any thing from the Force of  
 his *Invective* ; yet might serve to excuse the Severity of  
 it ; and be made use of to the purpose it now is, if He  
 should chance to be call'd to Account for it. This, my  
*Lords*, I conceive to be the true Meaning of that *one*  
     *single*

single Passage, so utterly repugnant to all the rest of his Discourse: Nor can I put any other Interpretation upon it. For had I the same Opinion of these *Men*, their *Principles*, and their *Designs*, that Dr. S. has; I should be so far from thinking them fit to be *Indulged*, that I should account it my *Duty*, and the *Duty* of every true Friend to our *Church* and *Government*, to take the same Methods of *Wholesome Severities* with them that Queen *Elizabeth* did: And I hope, by God's Grace, that should I be question'd for it, I should not dissemble my Opinion; but should have the Courage honestly to own it, whatever I might chance to suffer for it.

I have, my *Lords*, insisted the longer upon this Part of the *Doctor's Sermon*, because I would not willingly fall under the Censure of picking out *dis-jointed Sentences*, and putting them together from *distant Places*, that so I might the better draw a *Sense* out of them, contrary to *his Meaning*. I shall trouble your *Lordships* but with one part more of it, to the same Effect, Pag. 24, 25. Where he comes to consider, *What should be the Result of his long Discourse?* I shall read it to Your *Lordships* in his *own Words*, Pag. 25. "Let us therefore (says he) as we are unhappy Sharers of St. Paul's Misfortune, to have our Church in *Perils amongst False-Brethren*, follow his Example, and Conduct in a Parallel Case. He tells us in his *Epistle to the Galatians*, c. 2. That he was obstructed, and pester'd in preaching the *Gospel*, by *False-Brethren unawares brought in*, who came privily to spy out his *Liberty which he had in Christ Jesus*, that they might bring him into Bondage. To whom he gave place by Submission, no not for an Hour, that the truth of the *Gospel* might continue with the *Church*. Doubtless this brave and bold Resolution did the Apostle take by the peculiar Command, and Inspiration of the *Holy Ghost*: And yet if OUR DISSENTERS had liv'd in those times, they would have branded him as an *Intemperate, Hot, Furious Zealot*; that wanted to be sweetned by the gentle Spirit of *Charity*, and *Moderation* forsooth.

Here we have again the *Persons* of whom the Preacher speaks: They are OUR DISSENTERS; not the *Deists*,

*Atheists, Socinians, Hypocrites*, of our times. And accordingly, what follows, plainly refers to them : For thus he goes on, “ Schism and Faction are Things of Impudent and Incroaching Natures: Take Permissions for Power; and advance a TOLERATION, (for so the Doctor is still at Liberty to call, what we must stile INDULGENCE) immediately into an Establishment.” Your Lordships will please to observe, by the way, that this was the very thing he had before said of these same Persons, *Pag. 19.* and thereby plainly shews, that he speaks in both Places of those DISSENTERS who have a Right to the TOLERATION, or INDULGENCE, granted by Law to Protestant Dissenters. Let us now hear what he would have done with them. Why he would have them “ treated like Growing Mischiefs, or Infectious Plagues ; kept at a distance, lest the deadly Contagion spread.” And the Method he proposes in order thereunto, is this, “ Let us therefore, says he, have no Fellowship with THESE WORKS of Darkness; but rather reprove them.” THESE WORKS, Schism and Faction; For of these, and These only, He here speaks. This is the Peoples Part; and the Inferior Pastors : “ As for the Superior Pastors, let them do their Duty, in thundring out their Ecclesiastical Anathema’s against THEM. Against whom, my Lords? What Works of Darkness? Still the same he before mention’d: OUR DISSENTERS, Those are the Persons: Their Schism and Faction; Those are the Works of Darkness to which he refers. “ And let any Power on Earth dare reverse a Sentence ratify’d in Heaven.”

This, my Lords, was the last part of the Commons Impeachment upon this Second Article : And ’tis so plainly expressed by the Preacher in this Passage, that I confess it amazes me to consider with what Positiveness He has thought fit to deny that any such thing was meant by Him. The Persons whom the Superior Pastors are summon’d to Anathematize, are the same with those, whom the Other Pastors and People, are to have no Fellowship withal, but to Reprove. These, by the necessary Connexion of his Discourse, are OUR DISSENTERS; whose Works of Darkness, He states to be Schism, and Faction: Those

Those *Dissenters* to whom the *Government* hath granted a TOLERATION; as himself, in the same Passage takes notice. Which being so; I shall leave the Doctor to *Deny* and *Protest*, as He pleases; but when all is done, His Own Words will rise up against Him, and appear to every impartial Person so plain, and positive, as to put it beyond the Power of any artificial Interpretation to perplex the Meaning of them.

And this lets us into the true Application of those Passages of *Scripture*, with which He concludes his whole Discourse. In which, having shewn the Danger of our Church from these *False-Brethren*, and exhorted his Auditory to a steady Courage and Resolution in the Defence of it; He thus at once both inforces his Doctrine, and abuses his Adversaries. That *tho' the Church* (for to That He applies, what † *Zechariah* spake of the *False-Prophets* that seduced the People) *lies bleeding of the Wounds she has received in the House of her Friends*: A Passage first thrown at my \* self, for Defending the *Prince's Authority*, when some of These very Men engaged as vehemently on the side of *Liberty*, against the *Rights of the Crown*, as they now pretend to stand up vigorously for it; \* *Tho' the Ways of Zion may mourn FOR A TIME* (so the Doctor glosses upon the *Text*) *and Her Gates be desolate; Her Priests sigh;* and she in bitterness, BECAUSE (it is the *Preacher's* Reason, the *Text* has no such Word) *Her Adversaries are Chief*; He means in the *Administration* under her Majesty; and her *Enemies AT PRESENT* prosper; (so he again improves the *Text*; in hopes, I suppose, that it will not be long before He shall have Preach'd them out of their Places:) \*\* *Tho' among all her Lovers she has FEW*, (the Prophet complained that *Jerusalem* had *NONE*) *to Comfort Her*; and *MANY* (*Jeremiah* said *ALL*) *have dealt treacherously with her, and are become her Enemies*; He refers to Those of whom he had before spoken Pag. 22.) †† *Tho' there are FEW to guide Her among all the Sons which*

† *Zech. xiii. 6.*

\* See Dr *A's* Rights of an English Convocation; Title Page.

\* *Lament. i. 4, 5.*

\*\* *Lament. i. 2.*

†† *Isaiah li. 18.*

*she hath brought forth; neither are there MANY to take her by the Hand of all the Sons that she hath brought up;* (Isaiah in both places, says NONE:) *Tho' her Enemies cry down with Her, down with Her, even to the Ground:* That is, in other Words, tho' (the Preacher, and a few of his Friends, excepted) both the Fathers and Pastors of the Church; and the Men who are AT PRESENT in Power, and Authority, in the State, are become False-Brethren, and run in with those Enemies of the Church, OUR DISSENTERS, against it; “*Yet there is a God that can, and will raise Her up, if We forsake Her not.*”

It were an easie matter to make many proper Remarks upon these Passages of Scripture, thus applied, or rather abused, by the Preacher: But that would be besides my present Business; and will fall in more properly under the last Article of this Impeachment. It is enough that I have, I hope, fully shewn your Lordships how Dr. S. has treated if not the Indulgence it self, yet I am sure, Those who are entitled to the Benefit of it: And who if they shall have the Misfortune, by this kind of Preaching, to be once generally thought such wicked, false, and Dangerous Enemies to our Church and State as they are here represented, I cannot think that their Indulgence will hold long. If they have Numbers to secure them, it is well for them: But otherwise I am sure as the Case is here stated, it must be our Wisdom, as well as Duty, to suppress them.

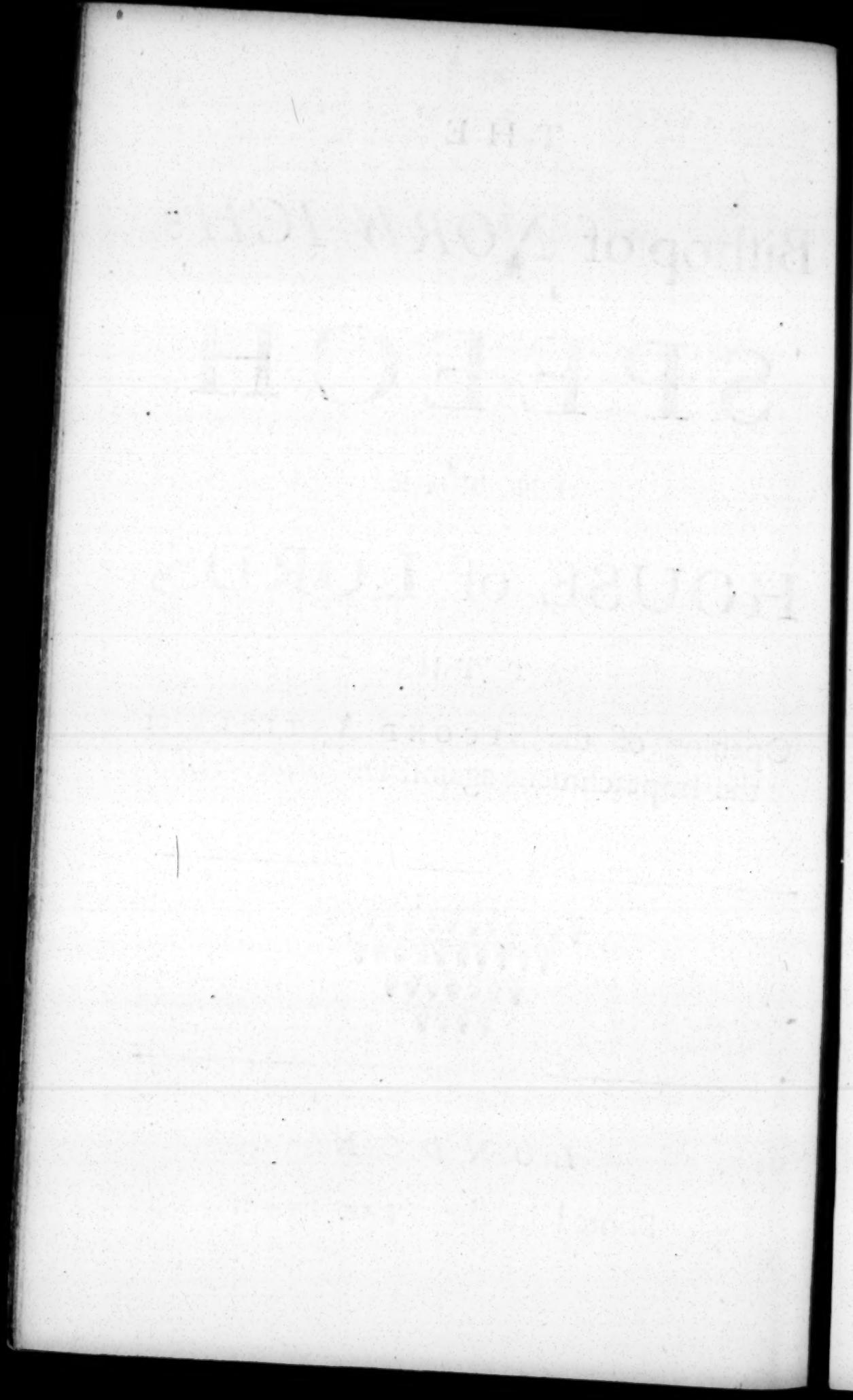
How Criminal such an *Invective* as this will be accounted in the Eye of the Law, I dare not presume to suggest: Much less shall I pretend to intimate what Censure it may deserve. Somewhat I think should be done to put a stop to such Preaching, as if not timely corrected may kindle such *Heats* and *Animosities* among us, as may truly endanger both our Church and State. As for the Preacher Himself; I am very willing to come into any Measures of Favour to Him, that are Consistent with your Lordships Honour and Justice; and will answer the Ends of the Impeachment that has been brought before Us against him.

THE  
Bishop of NORWICH's  
S P E E C H  
IN THE  
HOUSE of LORDS,  
AT THE  
Opening of the SECOND ARTICLE of  
the Impeachment against Dr. Sacheverell.



L O N D O N:

Printed in the YEAR 1710.



---



---

## *The Bishop of NORWICH's Speech in the House of Lords, &c.*

*My Lords,*

**I** Am very sensible under what Disadvantage in the Opinion of many, a Bishop must speak against a Clergyman that stands accused of Crimes committed by him in the seeming Execution of his Office; especially after having been so publickly required to be an Advocate as well as a Judge. And I am the more sensible of this prejudice lying against me, for having been so lately called into that Order, and for being so unworthy of it.

But I think my self obliged notwithstanding, under all these Disadvantages to deliver not only my Judgment, but also the Reasons that determine me to it: Which I shall do as plainly as I can; with that deference to your Lordships, which I am sure it must upon all Occasions particularly become me to pay; and at the same time with that Freedom which I think the Importance of this cause does at this time require.

Dr. Sacheverell stands impeached by the Commons of Great-Britain, of High Crimes and Misdemeanors expressed in the several Articles of the Charge exhibited against him: And your Lordships have heard what they have said in support of that Charge, as well as what has been offer'd in the Doctor's Defence.

Your Lordships have also debated among your selves the Merits of the Cause as to the first of these Articles; and have come to a Resolution, that the Commons have made good that part of their Charge: In which Resolution as I did heartily concur; so I was ready to have humbly represented to your Lordships my Reasons

for so doing, had there been either room or occasion for it.

Your Lordships are now upon the *Second Article*; wherein the Doctor is charged for *suggesting and maintaining that the Toleration granted by Law is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable*; with other particulars that have immediate relation to this general Charge, and which are indeed so many proofs of it.

In this view therefore, my Lords, I beg leave to consider them; And the *First* of these Instances, in Support of this Charge, is, that he asserts that *He is a False Brother with relation to God, Religion, or the Church, who defends Toleration and Liberty of Conscience*; and this, my Lords, the Doctor does assert in so many words. It is one of the many Marks he gives whereby we may discern who is a false Brother in those respects; not a *small part of one general Mark*, as was alledged very inconclusively, I think, in his Defence. For if it was to be granted, (tho' it cannot be fairly pretended) that the Doctor makes the defending of Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, one Branch only of the Character of a false Brother; I do not see how it cou'd make even a part of that Character, if there was no false Brotherhood in it. And I shall not trouble my self or your Lordships with going about to settle the degrees of false Brotherhood that are in this part of the Character, because I think every degree of it is unreasonable and not to be warranted.

And therefore the Doctor cannot make it so much as a part of the Character of a false Brother to defend Toleration and Liberty of Conscience, as it is confess'd that he does, but he must at the same time *suggest and maintain that the Toleration is unreasonable, and the Allowance of it unwarrantable*. For it can never be Any degree of false Brotherhood, to defend what is reasonable and warrantable: Nor wou'd even the Doctor, as inconsistent a Man as several of the Noble Lords that have spoken for him represent him to be, ever have made it one; if he had not himself condemn'd that which he blames others for defending.

The Second Instance alledg'd is, that he calls Archbishop Grindal a False Son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate, for deluding Queen Elizabeth into the Toleration of the Genevian Discipline. I shall not, my Lords, go about to add any thing to the full and just Vindication you have heard of that Excellent Prelate. But can any of your Lordships believe, that a Presbyter of the Church of England, professing more than ordinary Zeal for Episcopacy and the Constitution of this Church; should bestow such Language on one who was the first Bishop and the Ornament of it so long; only for disposing that Glorious Queen to a mild Treatment of the Puritans of that Time, which is the utmost that is pretended to be laid to his Charge, if he had thought Toleration a reasonable thing, or what was fit to be established by Law?

This, my Lords, I confess can never enter into my Thoughts, as ready as I am to enlarge them for the admitting of any favourable Construction that will not shut out common Sense.

The Third Instance is his making it the Duty of the Superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical Anathema's against Persons entitl'd to the Benefits of the Toleration. And to shew that he has done this, I need only refer your Lordships to that part of his Sermon where the Superior Pastors are call'd upon to do so; (*viz.*) the Fourth and last General Head, where he draws the Consequence of all that he had spoken before, in the following Words.

\* "Now what should be the Result of this long Discourse, but that if we bear any true Concern for the Interest, Honour, and Safety of our Church and Government, we ought stedfastly to adhere to those Fundamental Principles, upon which Both are Founded, and upon which their Security under God alone depends; and consequently that it highly behoves us, cautiously to Watch against, to Mark, and Avoid All those that thus Treacherously desert them. And indeed it wou'd be both for our Advantage, as well as their Credit, if such Men wou'd throw off the

\* Vide Serm. p. 22. l. 4.

" Mask,

" Mask, entirely quit our Church of which they are  
 " no True Members, and not fraudulently eat her  
 " Bread, and lay wait for her Ruin, purloin her Reve-  
 " nues, and ungratefully lift up their Heels against Her.  
 " For then we should be one Fold under one Shepherd;  
 " all those Invidious Distinctious, that now Distract  
 " and Confound us, lost; and we shou'd be terrible  
 " like an Army of Banners to our Enemies; who cou'd  
 " never break in upon such an Uniform and Well-com-  
 " pacted Body. This indeed wou'd be a True Peace,  
 " and Solid Union, when we shou'd all with one  
 " Mind and one Mouth glorifie God, and not with a  
 " confus'd diversity of Contradictious Opinions, and in-  
 " consistent Jargon of Worship, which the God of  
 " Peace, Purity, and Order cannot but abhor. As it is  
 " a Maxim in Politicks, that all Governments are best  
 " supported by the same Methods and Councils upon  
 " which they are founded; so it will appear undenia-  
 " bly True in its Application to our Constitution, which  
 " can be Maintain'd by no other Principles, but those  
 " on which it is-built, and like their Basis, the Gospel,  
 " if there's any Violation, or Breach made in any  
 " Branch of it, it shakes and endangers the whole Frame  
 " and Body. These things however little they may be  
 " represented by our Adversaries, will be found of the  
 " most considerable Consequence. Let us therefore, as  
 " we are unhappy Sharers of St. Paul's Misfortune, to  
 " have our Church in Perils among False Brethren, fol-  
 " low his Example and Condu&t in a parallel Case. He  
 " tells us in his Epistle to the *Galatians*, c. 2. That he  
 " was obstructed and pester'd in his preaching the Gospel,  
 " by FALSE BRETHREN unawares brought in, who  
 " came privily to spy out his Liberty, which he had in  
 " Christ Jesus, that they might bring him into Bondage:  
 " To whom he gave place by Subjection, no not for an  
 " Hour, that the Truth of the Gospel might continue  
 " with the Church. Doubtless this brave and bold Re-  
 " solution did the Apostle take by the peculiar Command,  
 " and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and yet if our *Dis-*  
 " *senters* had liv'd in those Times, they wou'd have brand-

" ed

" ed Him, as an Intemperate, Hot, Furious Zealot, that  
 " wanted to be sweeten'd by the gentle Spirit of Charity  
 " and Moderation forsooth. Schism, and Faction, are  
 " things of impudent and incroaching Natures, they  
 " thrive upon Concessions, take Permission for Power,  
 " and advance a *Toleration* immediately *into an Establishment*. And are therefore to be treated like growing  
 " Mischiefs, or infectious Plagues, kept at a distance,  
 " least their deadly Contagion spreads. Let us there-  
 " fore have no Fellowship with *those* Works of Dark-  
 " ness, but rather reprove them. Let our Superior Pa-  
 " stors do their Duty in thundring out their Ecclesiasti-  
 " cal Anathema's, and let any Power on Earth dare re-  
 " verse a Sentence ratify'd in Heaven.

Can any thing, my Lords, be plainer than that the Dissenters, and they only, are here spoken of? And what does the Doctor say in his own defence, to avoid it? His Words in his printed Speech are these:

" Schismaticks, my Lords, are not the only Persons  
 " against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denoun-  
 " ced: The Works of Darkness which I referr'd to as fit  
 " to be reproved, in that part of my Sermon where I  
 " speak of these Censures, are of the same kind with  
 " those mentioned by the Apostle, whose Words I pro-  
 " duc'd; All Lewd and Immoral Practices, &c.

It is very true, my Lords, Schismaticks are not the only Persons against whom Ecclesiastical Censures may be denounced, but I must still say they are the only Persons referr'd to, in the Paragraph I have read to your Lordships; and therefore I own I am a good deal concern'd, to find the Doctor making so vain, so unsincere a Defence. For it is not Works of Darkness in general he is cautioning against, but expressly, by a Word of his own inserting, not the Apostle's, *those* Works of Darkness mentioned immediately before; *Schism* and *Faction*, which with him go always together.

These are the Sins against which he calls upon his Superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical *Anathema's*; nor can the Charge be avoided by that Distinction which was offer'd in his behalf, between a Censure purely

purely Spiritual, and an Ecclesiastical Censure. For admitting there is ground for that Distinction in a Scholastical Consideration of the general Question of Christian Censures; yet there is no room to make use of it in this case, because he calls expressly for *Ecclesiastical Anathema's*, which can be apply'd to none but such as are part of the Order and Discipline of this Church.

And it is certain, my Lords, that these Censures cannot, since the Act of Toleration, be inflicted upon Dissenters, how much soever their Schism remains; because it is expressly provided by an Act of Parliament, (an Act, my Lords, of the whole Christian Society, to which the Superior Pastors were personally concurring,) that they shall not be treated as Schismatics in the way of those Ecclesiastical Censures, to which their Separation would otherwise have certainly subjected them.

And tho' I cannot undertake upon Memory to be very particular, yet I dare venture to say, there have anciently been Relaxations of the Discipline of the Church, even when the Crime was thought to deserve the Continuance of it; for Publick Expedience, and better preserving the Peace of the Christian World: And that in such Cases any Presbyter or Bishop wou'd himself have been censured, if he had not acquiesced in such Relaxations.

My Lords, a Presbyter of the Church of *England*, is the more obliged to acquiesce in all such Relaxations amongst us as are legally made, because he has solemnly promised at his Ordination, that *he will give his Faithful Diligence always so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and REALM hath received the same.*

I have already observed to your Lordships, how the Discipline of the Church stands at present as to the Point in question. And as the Relaxation of it in that particular, was agreeable to that Temper which the Bishops who petitioned King *James*, gave the Dissenters ground to expect: So I am verily perswaded that the Church is so far from having been hurt by this Indulgence, that it has received Advantage as well as Credit, from that Moderation

ration which gave way to it. I could give several Instances of this within my own Observation, while I was Arch-Deacon, under a Reverend Prelate that sits now before me; and since I have had the Honour to be on this Bench: In which Companys of Time several Men of Sobriety and Learning, bred up to be Ministers amongst the Dissenters, have left the Separation, and upon due Tryal have been admitted to Orders in our Church; in which they have officiated with entire Conformity to our Rules, and to the Honour of our holy Religion.

These Instances have been so frequent and Remarkable, since the Dissenters have been exempted from the Penalties of certain Laws, above what had been observ'd before; that I think it very ill becomes any Clergyman to preach against that Exemption, as the Doctor (notwithstanding his Reserve for *Consciences truly scrupulous*) has done; and to call upon his Superiors to act in contradiction to it. He should have forbore doing this, at least out of regard to Her Majesty, who had been graciously pleas'd to declare from the Throne, that she would preserve the Toleration inviolable: A Resolution I shall ever think it my Duty upon all proper Occasions to express my Approbation of, as Just and Wise and Charitable, and every way agreeable to the Spirit and Genius of the Christian Religion.

I shall not, my Lords, enter into the Enquiry of what Sentences are ratified in Heaven: But as one may venture to say, that all that have been pronounced on Earth, are not ratify'd there; so by all I have seen of the Doctor's Spirit in these Matters, I have great reason to fear, that if the Power of the Keys was in his Hands, it would often be very sadly abused.

However he has so good an Opinion of his own Spirit, as to put his Superiors in mind of another Part of their Duty, immediately after that I have mention'd; and that is, to *promote Men of Probity, Conscience and Courage*, without which he thinks they cannot be fit Members of the Church Militant; in which I can as little agree

agree with him as in the former Demand. For if I may Judge of the Probity, Conscience, and Courage he thinks so deserving, by what appears in his Sermon, compar'd with his Speech to Your Lordships; I cannot think them Qualifications for a Minister of the Church of Christ in any respect; and I hope I shall be so happy as to find all the Reverend Prelates with whom I have the Honour to sit, agreeing with me in this.

But tho' I hope such a Conduct will never recommend any Person to Favour; yet I do not desire that even that which I heartily blame, shou'd be punished so much as I think it deserves. And tho' He who pleads so warmly for *wholesome Severities* toward those who differ from him, has the least Title to Your Lordships Compassion; Yet I hope he will find it as far as the just Concern you have for the Publick Tranquility will allow you to shew it.

This I say from that which I bless God is the natural Temper of my Mind, and not from the Care that has been taken by some to intimidate as far as they could, those who were to have the Cognizance of the Doctor's Cause, and were not thought to be favourable to it.

I shall not take upon me to charge the Doctor or any of his particular Friends with this Practice, as great a Temptation as one is under to do so from several Circumstances. And it is not the least, that occurs in his Prayers, which he has published upon this Occasion, to represent not so much to God as to the World, that he is under Persecution, when he is prosecuted for offending against the Law by those who in common Justice ought to be thought the fairest Accusers; and before Your Lordships, who are justly acknowledged to be the most impartial Judges.

However I will never believe, till I cannot avoid it, that any Members of the Church of *England* who have acknowledged the Government, much less any Clergyman who has so often profess'd his Obedience to it in Church and State, shou'd have been any way accessory to those Threatnings that have been given out,

par-

particularly against such Bishops as should happen to condemn the Doctor's Proceedings.

As far, my Lords, as I have seen of this Cause, I am likely to be one of those Bishops; and tho' I do not pretend to any great Share of Courage, I am very free to declare to Your Lordships, that I am in no Comparison so apprehensive of what may befall my self for condemning this Person, as I am of what will probably befall the Publick if Your Lordships should not condemn him.

But that is in Your Lordships Judgment, to which I humbly submit it: And only beg Pardon for having detain'd Your Lordships so long in giving my Reasons why I think the Commons have made good this Second Part of their Charge.

---

F I N I S.



